

**A pioneer pastorate and times, embodying
contemporary local transactions and events, by the
Rev. Albert Williams, founder and first pastor of the
First Presbyterian church, San Francisco**

Pioneer Pastorate

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PIONEER PASTORATE

AND TIMES

EMBODYING

CONTEMPORARY LOCAL TRANSACTIONS AND EVENTS

BY THE

REV. ALBERT WILLIAMS

FOUNDER AND FIRST PASTOR OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, SAN
FRANCISCO.

SAN FRANCISCO

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TO

MARY

HELPER IN MY LABORS AND SHARER OF MY JOYS

THIS VOLUME

IS

AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

THE present volume is offered as a contribution to history, in one of whose niches the subject, humble as it may be, claims a place. As the oldest Protestant Church organization in San Francisco, and confessedly a leading religious society, the First Presbyterian Church has attracted a marked attention and regard. Of this fact I have received many proofs early and late, and from near and far.

Immediately after my arrival, a characteristic friendly greeting was given to me by the scholarly naval chaplain, the Rev. Walter Colton, at that time in Monterey, and only a few days before his departure from the coast. As a co-worker on the shore of the Pacific, in the summer of eighteen hundred and forty-nine, I was welcomed by the distinguished divine and statesman, the Rev. John Dunmore Lang of Sydney, New South Wales. Subsequently, came to hand friendly letters from Dr. Malan of Geneva, Dr. Candlish of Edinburgh, and others. These, and similar proffers of cheer and encouragement, are cherished in grateful remembrance.

Nor has the interest in the general subject ceased. While it is acknowledged, that the work of those days is permanent, the wish is from time to time expressed, that in written form its history may be recorded. To viii many inquiries regarding the general subject, I have indeed already responded, privately in conversations and correspondence, as well as by communications through the Press,

and published sermons and addresses. The theme, however, has not been exhausted. More has been asked, in substance and mode.

So, suspending awhile engagements in connection with California history in a more extended scope, in order to meet what seems a requirement, as well as to gratify wishes which I am bound to respect, I have thrown together, in the present volume, such facts and incidents, recalled from the past, as may assist in an understanding of the period under review, interesting alike to the general and special reader. In a word, the First Presbyterian Church of San Francisco, in its planting and early history, is the central subject of the present effort, around which are grouped leading events identified with it, and illustrative of the early times.

The day is remembered when doubts and fears were widely prevalent, as to the final issue of the rush of gold-seekers, concentrated upon a common arena, with all their shades of training and habits. The problem for practical solution was, in truth, one of grave import: how, out of seeming or actual incongruities and even antagonisms, to evolve system and harmony. And yet—it may seem a wonder—from what was regarded by not a few a social chaos, arose the crowning work of the times, a CHRISTIAN STATE. The conditions, trials, duties, were all peculiar. In the midst of all is seen a sovereign overruling Providence, concerned in the ordering of its events and the accomplishment of final results. *Man proposes, but God disposes.*

Again, referring to the question of the character of the Pioneers in Church and State: virtue, patriotism, and attachment to traditional, wise, and beneficent institutions, were their controlling principles. Let the men of the early days be judged by their works. Time has tested them. That generation of active laborers has nearly passed away. Would their successors have begun and builded as wisely and as well?

Necessarily, the present narrative is more or less personal in its details; for which fact, I trust no apology is requisite, for, as Gibbon has truly said, “a false modesty is the meanest species of pride.”

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CHAPTER I.

The Beginning—Voyage to Chagres—Isthmus Transit—Voyage from Panama—Arrival at San Francisco.

“MUTATIO MIRABILIS!” is the motto under which, in my diary, I made the following entry: “Clinton, New Jersey, February 1st, 1849. After a pastorate in this place of ten years, I this day received a joint commission from the Boards of Education and Missions of the Presbyterian Church, to proceed forthwith to the new field of Christian, as it is also of secular enterprise, in Upper California.”

The prompting which preceded and induced this movement was, first from without, made by esteemed friends who had determined to join the throngs of men hastening to the new Eldorado, and who solicited my company; and next, through the interposition of the same gentlemen, the proffer of authority, in the name of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, from the above named Boards, to enter upon the important undertaking. To this grave proposal I gave my assent, after a serious though necessarily brief consideration, and with the approving counsel of valued friends in Princeton, Philadelphia, and New York. The issuance and 2 receipt of my commission followed. The time for preparation for the long voyage was limited. My departure was desired to be “forthwith.” The next “steamer-day” was set for the 5th of February. By a diligent use of the interval, I was made ready for the sudden change which had invaded “the spirit of my dream.” For, more like a dream than a reality it seemed to me, when having embarked, February 5th, 1849, at New York, on board the steamship *Crescent City*, Stoddard, master, for Chagres, day by day the distance was widening between me and my late home and associates, and, steadily also, I was borne onward towards my far-off destination.

Before sailing, the report was current that some half a dozen clergymen had engaged passage with us. With interest, near the gangway, I watched the embarkation, to see if I could recognize any belonging to the cloth. If any, I thought I discovered one, wrapped in a blue cloth cloak, with narrow cape—a grave looking gentleman withal; but I was mistaken. In truth, I was the solitary representative of the profession on board; and the agreeable manner in which my presence was acknowledged, at once gave me an assuring encouragement. Several of the passengers were my familiar acquaintances—to others, I was not unknown; and soon, with many more, sprang up a mutually pleasant intercourse.

On board the *Crescent City*, in the ordering of events, among my three hundred fellow-passengers and a large ship's company, began my Pioneer Pastorate. In anticipation of the only Sunday which occurred during the Atlantic voyage, I was requested to perform religious service on that day. Sunday, 11th of February, dawned upon us under tropical skies, and at midday we were sailing over a smooth sea, between the islands of Hayti and Cuba. At the orthodox hour of eleven, the call to worship drew together a large assemblage. In addition to the usual devotional exercises, I preached a sermon from Psalm LXVI., 13, 14: "I will go into Thy house with burnt offerings," etc. The subject was "Religious Vows."

After the service, many came forward, and, introducing themselves by name, spoke of the pleasure they had enjoyed. Of these were not a few who said they were church members. Nearly all were officers and members of mining associations, who kindly asked me to visit them in the gold regions, where they would provide a place for religious worship. An elderly gentleman, not a church member, whose family were parishioners of Dr. Bethune in Philadelphia, said his feeling while I was preaching was, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian!" and he had told his pious son, before leaving home, he hoped to find something better than gold. Another had 4 "resolved not to lose his religious attainments." And all had determined not to do work on Sunday. A friend remarked, he thought our entire company would compare favorably with the Pilgrims of Plymouth.

Such are a few of the palpable demonstrations of character which help to refute the false representations which have been sometimes associated with the pioneer gold seekers, in reference to whom truth compels the declaration, that the desire of gold had not an exclusive place in their hearts. Of this voyage of the *Crescent City* and its many gratifying associations, I retain ever-grateful memories. The names of the passengers whose companionship was specially agreeable, are cherished in my choicest recollections. Suffice it to mention only, from a large number, Dr. James C. Cobb, Col. Gilbert A. Grant, Wm. J. Lewis, Theodore T. Johnson, George H. Howard, Col. J. C.

Zabriskie, Dr. Henry Race who had prompted and largely influenced my own adventure, and my esteemed friend and late parishioner, Capt. George W. Taylor, martyr General in the late civil war.

The voyage to Chagres ended on the 14th of February. A few hours only before our arrival, the *Falcon*, which sailed from New York on the 1st of February, and had touched at Havana, with a company of passengers nearly equal to our own number, had dropped her anchor in that 5 harbor. The two ships' living freight, landing simultaneously and requiring immediate transportation to Panama, increased the difficulty of forming contracts, amid so great competition, which would be faithfully observed. At length, the nearly six hundred "Californians," as we were called, were provided, at enhanced rates, with passage by canoes to ascend the Chagres river, and afterwards, at Gorgona and Cruces, with mustangs for the land conveyance.

The interest of the commingling of the two parties from the *Crescent City* and the *Falcon* was enlivened by many pleasant acquaintanceships formed, and continued interchanges of friendship. Thus, as well as in the case of my associates of the *Crescent City*, I was brought into intimate fellowship with many whom it is my special honor to add to the "list of friends." More favored were they of the *Falcon* than the exclusively male passengers of the *Crescent City*, by the presence and charm of two most estimable Christian ladies, Mrs. Bezer Simmons and Mrs. John W. Geary. To name a few of my new acquaintances: Captain Bezer Simmons, who had been a successful shipmaster in the Pacific Ocean, battling with the sea-monsters, had visited California and secured valuable properties, and was prepared to engage in commercial business in San Francisco as head of the firm of Simmons, 6 Hutchinson & Co., and Col. John W. Geary, who had proved himself a brave officer in the Mexican war, and was the bearer of a commission as the first Postmaster of San Francisco; and, as not needing special description, as those named need it not, Frederick Billings, Esq., who promptly gave me his friendship and its warmth, which I was as ready to reciprocate, and who remarked, very early in this new mutualness of regard, "It seems, Mr. W., as if I had known you always;" and Dr. George F. Turner, Chief of the Medical Staff of the Military Department of the Pacific; Professor Forrest Shepherd, of Yale and Western Reserve Colleges; W. W. Caldwell, merchant, of Richmond, New Orleans, and Havana; and, not to name more, a Commission of the

United States Army and Navy, for service in scientific observations, consisting of Captains Van Brunt, Goldsborough, and Knox, and Lieut. Blunt, U.S.N., and Major Smith, U.S.A.

More favored than the preceding company of steamer *voyageurs*, it was our happiness to suffer no inconvenience from drenching rains and epidemic disease during the Isthmus transit.

On account of the non-arrival of the steamer *Oregon* at Panama, with many others I stopped several days at Gorgona, on the upper Chagres river.

Arriving at Panama, Saturday, February 24th, before I had taken lodgings, I was met by Col. 7 Zabriskie with the message that I was desired to conduct public religious service the next day. Accordingly, at 11 o'clock A.M., Sunday, a large assembly gathered in the spacious dining hall of the American Hotel, and joined in divine worship. Not only "Californians," but also several respectable Panamenos attended the service. The latter seemed deeply interested, and afterwards spoke admiringly of the simple and solemn character of our forms of worship. Thus, in the same place, on the two succeeding Sundays, while awaiting the arrival of the steamer *Oregon*, my services were desired and given, in leading the sacred worship of my countrymen.

Not only in these public exercises, but often during my stay in Panama, my services were called in requisition to visit the sick, and in a few sad instances, to bury the dead. Though the diseases of fever and cholera which had so greatly afflicted the first steamer company, a month preceding, had disappeared, still, from constrained exposure, from fatigue, and sometimes from imprudence, many were attacked by sicknesses incident to the climate, which, in exceptional cases, proved fatal. It is due to truth to add, the general humane and sympathizing attentions bestowed upon the unfortunate and suffering, were highly honorable to the sojourners in these strange scenes. None known to require assistance in any form were left to want the needed help.

The great absorbing wish was to embark for California. Anxiously, impatiently, such as had tickets for the expected steamer waited, and daily they were in the habit of watching from the "Battery"

for her coming. More trying still was the situation of the many who were unprovided with steamer tickets, and who saw no immediate prospect of continuing the voyage on the Pacific.

How eagerly opportunities were sought, during that period of waiting, an incident, quite unusual it must be believed, will illustrate. A young man who had made two trips across the Isthmus, had, on account of his severe exertions and exposure, become alarmingly ill. I had visited him outside the city walls, and was on my way to visit him again, when I met his friends bearing the melancholy news that he was dead. The report was made in the hearing of a group of men, when suddenly a stranger arose from the low wall upon which, with others, he had been sitting, and pressing hastily forward, his eager, interrupting inquiry broke strangely upon us, "Had he a through-ticket?"

The good steamer *Oregon*, R. H. Pearson, commander, at length, to the joy of her waiting passengers, appeared in the distance, and came to anchor before the quaint old town of Panama. 9 On the 13th of March, having spent twenty-eight days altogether upon the Isthmus, the time arrived for embarkation on board this second pioneer steamer. The number of her passengers allowed for the voyage to California was limited to two hundred and fifty, although subsequently the same ship carried a thousand and more. What with the opportune arrival of the barques *Equator* and *Colooney*, and the purchase or charter of two or three smaller vessels, nearly all who were waiting at the time were provided with passages. A request, before the departure of the *Oregon*, was made by Captain William Stout, of the agency of the line, that I would conduct, daily, morning and evening prayers at eight bells, and on Sundays, at 11 o'clock A.M., hold a religious service, with the addition of a sermon. This plan was, without interruption, carried out, and it is believed with a special appreciation, generally, on the part of the passengers.

The continuity of the voyage was broken by a delay of two days, for the purpose of coaling, at San Blas, and by entering the harbors of San Diego and Monterey for the exchange of mails. In remarkably good time, and without any untoward event, on the 1st of April, we entered the Golden Gate, and cast anchor in the good port of San Francisco. Whatever inconveniences had been suffered were all absorbed in the pleasure of a safe ending of a long voyage.

Exciting beyond description was the scene presented on landing. Everybody, every moveable thing was astir. The newly arrived, with their pent-up longings, were not the least active, and entered with all their zeal into the arena of strife. A day lost by delay in reaching the gold-diggings, the destination of nearly all, was regarded a great calamity. Some tarried of choice, pitching their tents, temporarily, in order to dispose of such small invoices of goods as had been transported for speculation. Others sought the first opportunities for leaving the town, in launches across the Bays, and up the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. Such as were unable to avail themselves of water transportation, accepted, as of next choice, the circuitous land route around the southern point of San Francisco Bay, and onward to their destination. And still others applied their skill to the building of boats, submitting to this detention, though their courage was sustained by the prospect, at no distant time, of reaching points upon the upper river-courses nearest to the tempting gold fields.

Of the four thousand permanent and floating population of San Francisco, the greater part were sheltered under tents and canvas-covered houses. For more stable dwelling or business places, the materials were either wanting or too costly, or required too much time in the preparation, for the demands of immediate and pressing use. However prepared for surprises, the very high rates commanded by all articles of consumption and use, startled all newcomers. In my walks, not always along streets, for they were often, though named, undefined, I met a fellow-passenger, who was an improvised merchant, in his tent, which he had brought with him. "What do you think?" he asked. "See, for that scantling in the centre, supporting my tent, I paid one dollar per foot, twelve dollars for the piece." Such was the scale of prices for all goods in special demand. And every thing seemed novel, much grotesque, and all strange.

It fell to my lot to behold the future metropolis of the Pacific, as also California in general, while yet the natural aspect was unchanged. In the immediate front of the occupied portion of San Francisco, lay the calm, crescent-shaped "Yerba Buena Cove," soon after darkened by hundreds of floating hulls, and now made the solid foundation of commercial structures, fringed with projecting wharves; and westward and southward, beyond the limited settlement, were surrounding heights,

swelling ridges, and sand-dunes, mantled with evergreen oaks and low, thorny chapparal. In the busy scene of its centre of social and commercial life, were planted the seeds of future untold enlargement.

CHAPTER II.

Visit to Benicia—Rev. S. Woodbridge, Jr.—First Sermons in San Francisco—Initial Steps in Church Organization—The Institute—Second Visit to Benicia—A Sad Bereavement—Organization of the First Presbyterian Church of San Francisco.

The desire to meet and advise with my clerical brother of the Presbyterian Church, the Rev. Sylvester Woodbridge, Jr., who had preceded me and arrived in the country a month earlier, on board the first Pacific mail steamer *California*, led me at once to visit him at his chosen place of residence and professional service, Benicia. On the evening of the 3d of April, I reached the place, and, at the landing, was met and cordially welcomed by Mr. Woodbridge. Two days were spent in conferences with reference to the great field and work open to Christian effort in California. A promising door of usefulness seemed wisely entered by my brother; a wide scope was before me, from which to make my selection. During this first brief visit, in interviews with Dr. Robert Semple, one of the proprietors of the town-site of Benicia, that gentleman made a tender with a deed signed by himself, awaiting the signatures (afterwards added) of Messrs. Thomas O. Larkin and Bethuel Phelps of joint interest, for a plot of ground, favorably located, 1200 x 600 feet in 13 extent, for a college, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church. This is the site of the present St. Augustine College, under the control of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

At the close of the week, I returned to San Francisco. A cordial, fraternal greeting was given me by the Rev. T. Dwight Hunt, a Presbyterian, whose sympathies with the New School branch of the denomination interposed no barrier to my frank recognition, on account of my Old School, so-called, associations.

By the request of Mr. Hunt, I preached, in his absence from the city, my first sermons in California on the following Sunday, the 8th of April, in the Public School House, situated on the southwest

corner of the open Plaza. Mr. Hunt had been already five months in the country, providentially led to transfer his labors from the Hawaiian Islands to this equally missionary ground; and by the usefulness of his ministry, receiving tokens of the wisdom of his self-transfer. Upon his arrival, an engagement was made, constituting him the Chaplain of the town, for the maintenance of a Union religious service, attended upon and supported by representatives of various Christian denominations. The contract was for one year, under the stipulation that the incumbent within that time should not organize a denominational church.

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Having noticed, from time to time, before coming to the country, reports of the sojourn here of Protestant clergymen, and particularly those of the confessed *avant courier* Methodist Episcopal Church, it was with surprise I found no Protestant church organizations existing in any portion of California. None of the four Protestant ministers who arrived a month before me, had taken any direct steps towards a formal church organization.

As the church of the Puritans was in the *Mayflower*, so it may be truly said, the germ and nucleus of the First Presbyterian Church of San Francisco—honored name, and fruitful mother of churches—was in the steamship *Oregon*. Friendships were formed and fellowships cemented, during and by means of the common experiences of travel, which were shaping themselves, by mutual attracting forces, into an intimate communion, requiring only the touch of the finger of Providence to constitute those elements of Christian life into an associated organic union. Such, eventually, was the developed result. Many of the companions of my journey, on the Atlantic, on the Isthmus, and on the Pacific, particularly of the official, professional, and mercantile classes, established themselves in San Francisco. Of these, not the least were the good and true men and women, whose friendship I had enjoyed, and who, still pleased to continue their confiding interest, 15 were prompt, when settled in their new home, to confer together and plan with me the organization of a church of my denomination. The first formal conference in relation to this step was held in the law office of Frederick Billings, Esq., in the City Hotel Building, on the Clay street side, shortly after my first visit to Benicia. Mr. Caldwell, Dr. Turner, and Mr. Billings, with myself, were the first active movers in the enterprise. Subsequent meetings were held in the office of Dr. Turner, on Washington

street, opposite the Custom House, and adjoining the *Alta California* newspaper office. Besides the persons named, were others, some older residents, and, of arrivals by the *California*, one deserving particular mention, Judge Elihu Woodruff, all of whom entered heartily with us into the proposed plan of a church organization. Delays occurred in carrying our plans into effect, chiefly due to the want of a suitable place of assembling.

While this subject was under consideration, and action was necessarily postponed, another call for my services, in the line of education, was made upon me. At the time, there was no school of any kind in San Francisco, the school which had been in existence having been interrupted by the disorganizing influence of the gold discovery, which withdrew from the city alike teacher and pupils. Influential citizens, prominent among 16 whom in this respect was Mr. W. D. M. Howard, invited me to take charge of a school for the instruction of young San Franciscans. Although the Public School House might be supposed, *prima facie*, to keep its door open for educational uses, it was somehow considered necessary to award me a warrant for its use, through the constituted municipal authorities, the Alcalde and Ayuntamiento. And not only this, but to show the interest taken in the cause of education, and perhaps also for the sake of asserting its own prerogative, the District Assembly of San Francisco, a rival power to the Alcalde and Ayuntamiento, also volunteered to grant me the liberty of the School House. And accordingly, and in pursuance of its strict parliamentary usage, an honorable member prepared and offered in the Assembly a “bill,” which was unanimously passed, granting the aforesaid franchise. The school, known as “The Institute,” was opened on the 23d of April, and continued five months, when a pressure of parochial duties compelled me to relinquish the burdensome charge.

Before entering upon the school duties, and while my church enterprise was delayed, I made a second visit to Benicia, and, remaining over Sunday, 15th of April, on that day I was permitted to assist my brother Woodbridge in the pleasant service of organizing the Presbyterian Church of 17 Benicia, distinguished as the first Protestant Church organization in California—an initial action to be followed by the formation of countless churches on these shores in the years to come.

Here a dark shadow overspread the circle of our intimate associations, which hitherto had been only radiant with joy and hope. Returning from Benicia, the sad news was communicated that our beloved Mrs. Simmons was seriously ill. Beginning with a chill, a virulent type of Panama fever was developed. Most anxiously the progress of the disease was watched by the tenderest of hearts, resisted also by the best offices of the highest medical skill. But all in vain. Early in the morning of the 24th of April, I was summoned to her dying chamber. Never can I forget the placid, beaming countenance which greeted me, and the first words spoken from her lips: "Mr. W., I am going to die. I was once afraid to die, but I am not now. I trust myself in the hands of Jesus." The flickering flame still burned, and continued until 3 o'clock P.M. Among her expressed desires was this, addressed to me: "Mr. W., you have known me longer than any clergyman here; I wish you to deliver the funeral discourse, and have it sent—Fred will copy it—to my parents." Repeatedly, as the end seemed to have arrived, she bade her husband, brother, and 18 all present, a cheerful, affectionate "good-by." Requests and messages, which were characteristic, at intervals were given, expressive of abiding love. Peaceful with calm joy was the waning, departing life. The gain to her was infinite; to survivors, the loss irreparable. In the quiet cemetery of her native Woodstock, Vermont, her mortal remains, with those of her respected husband, who also, alas! too soon for our sakes, was called away, await the resurrection of the just.

It has ever seemed to me a special favor of Divine providence, that in my first voyage to California it was my privilege to enjoy companionships so agreeable, and secure friendships so valued and lasting. And this not for my own gratification merely, but for the higher end of the cementing of a communion of Christian hearts which formed the nucleus of the Church which I was permitted to found. For with this fact is associated what, without exaggeration, is true, the high social position which the society sustained, in that nucleus, and the kindred elements, at its organization and afterward, which it drew to itself.

A leading sentiment in the minds of those who constituted the original members of the First Presbyterian Church of San Francisco, and which prompted this early organization, was the wish to unfurl the banner of church membership for 19 their own sake as well as the sake of others. They

desired to be known as under and bound by their religious vows. Their wish was fulfilled. The time was appointed for holding the first public religious service looking to the church organization. In the afternoon of the second Sunday, the 13th, of May, I conducted divine worship in the Public School House, in the presence of a goodly number of persons, and preached my first sermon, preparatory to the purposed church organization. On the following Sunday, the 20th of May, 1849, after devotional exercises and a sermon, I proceeded to the formal church organization. A written petition was placed in my hands, requesting that the petitioners be constituted in a church relation, to be known as the First Presbyterian Church of San Francisco, under the authority of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States. The petitioners and original members were the following: W. W. Caldwell, from the Second Presbyterian Church, Newburyport, Massachusetts; Geo. F. Turner, from the Mission Church of Mackinaw; Frederick Billings, from the First Congregational Church of Woodstock, Vermont; Mrs. Sarah B. Gillespie, from the Presbyterian Mission Church, Macao, China; Mrs. Margaret A. Geary, from the Presbyterian Church of Johnstown, Pennsylvania; and Mrs. Ann Hodgton, from the Mission Church, 20 Valparaiso, Chile. Upon the open affirmation of the desire expressed in the petition by the above named petitioners, and their assent to the Constitution and Government of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, by virtue of the authority given to me by the General Assembly of the said Church, through its Board of Missions, I declared the persons above named a duly constituted church, under the title of the First Presbyterian Church of San Francisco. Mr. W. W. Caldwell and Dr. George F. Turner were chosen Ruling Elders of the Church. Subsequently, the congregation elected Bezer Simmons, Elihu Woodruff, and Hiram Grimes, its first Board of Trustees. Thus an object was attained which was a consummation, in this regard, fulfilling the best wishes of my heart. The occasion was fraught with sincere mutual congratulations, and though chastened in pensive submission under the skirting cloud of a deep providential bereavement, with trustful courage the consecrated band, harmoniously united, took its position as a part of the great “sacramental host.”

With this pioneer religious society were identified a goodly proportion of the leading commercial and professional men of San Francisco in the pioneer times. It is with no invidious distinction,

with reference to many other worthy names, that mention is made of a few as representative of 21 the many. Of mercantile houses, were Simmons, Hutchinson & Co.; DeWitt & Harrison; Finley, Johnson & Co.; McKenzie, Thompson & Co.; Alexander Cross & Co.; Daniel Gibb & Co.; Marvin & Hitchcock; Thomas H. Selby & Co.; Austin & Kelly; Gildemeester, DeFremery & Co.; Gladwin & Whitmore; Coit & Beals, and others. Of individuals, professional and business men, in addition to those previously inserted: Drs. B. B. Coit, S. R. Harris, Wm. Jelly, H. P. Coon, A. C. Donaldson; Messrs. R. H. Waller, Thos. F. Gould, James P. Howard, Nathaniel Lane, C. V. Gillespie, W. S. Clark, G. W. P. Bissell, H. M. Hale, Edward H. Parker, Chas. L. Kellogg, J. D. Arthur, Thos. Hopkins, Edmund Hodgson, H. H. Haight, J. B. Roberts, David Beck, G. I. N. Monell, David Gillespie, Samuel Hopkins, W. H. Stowell, Nathaniel Gray, L. B. Edwards, D. A. Jennings, Samuel B. King, John H. Bolton, David Jacks, John Burke, the brothers W. S. and Hamlet Jacks, B. F. Sterett, E. R. Hawley, A. R. Flint, Martin Robinson, James Collyer, H. I. Thornton, Thompson Campbell, E. D. Baker, Bailie Peyton, John Middleton, Stephen S. Smith, Aug. Olbrecht, A. T. Farish, Redick McKee, Alexander C. Baine, James Dunn, the brothers J. J. and Ed. C. McComb, George Carothers, S. Dennison, Moses Hoyt, John Wilson, H. T. Havens, David Van Pelt.

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The estimable wives and daughters of parishioners composed a crowning feature of the society. We were favored also with the attendance upon the church services of the British Consul, George Aiken, Esq. Many interesting personal portraits of individual members of the congregation might be drawn, but this is hardly necessary. Suffice it to refer only to one of the many who have merited and gained renown.

Among the members of the First Presbyterian Church, enrolled in 1849, was Judge W. B. Almond, who arrived from Missouri in the summer of that year. Very promptly after his arrival, he called upon me and presented his letter of dismission from the Presbyterian Church of Platte City. The recognized ability of Judge Almond secured for him the appointment of Judge of the Court of First Instance in San Francisco, superior to that of the Alcalde. Peculiar traits which marked the character of Judge Almond have had current notoriety. He was in many respects *sui generis*. I knew him intimately. In public opinion, also, he was respected for his intelligence and plain,

outspoken honesty. If, as has been said, some make their moral sense the rule of judicial action, Judge Almond could be trusted for both his legal knowledge and moral sense. With a ready intuition, he comprehended questions in 23 issue at his Court, and possessed the boldness to declare and maintain his opinions. His inbred sense of right led him often to cut short, by an abrupt interposition, protracted and irrelevant arguments of counsel, to the disgust of a would-be flaming orator, and the saving of much valuable time. Soon after the dissolution of his Court, Judge Almond returned to Missouri. He died some years since.

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CHAPTER III.

Introductories—General Persifer F. Smith and Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones—Sunday School and its Superintendent—Church Choir—Wednesday Evening Prayer Meeting—An Excursion and Wayside Labors—A Day at the Mission Dolores—Padre Santillan.

Congenial and special friendships formed *en route*, gave to the First Church nucleus a favorable standing in San Francisco society. It is not affectation, nor, I trust, a violation of good taste, to claim for this Church the rank of, so-called, “social respectability.” In addition to the privilege of most agreeable companionships, enjoyed during the two months of the voyage, it was my happiness, and I esteem it also an obligation to make the acknowledgment, that I was favored by, and bore with me kind introductory letters from distinguished friends at home. Of the fact I make note, because my experience attests the value of such introductories. Among these, it is due to make mention of one furnished me by the Rev. Dr. John Maclean, Vice-President and Professor, and afterward President, of the College of New Jersey. This letter was notably sympathizing and friendly. Being intended for general use, when the sharp eye of Dr. Robert Semple of Benicia 25 found in it an allusion to probable “difficulties” in my undertaking, “Nothing of the kind,” quickly remarked the Doctor, “in a country where labor is in so great demand.” Another letter, which availed me much, and which, with grateful recollections, I feel bound in this connection to specify, was kindly given to me by the Rev. Dr. Charles Hodge, of the Theological Seminary, Princeton, addressed to his Princeton College classmate, General Persifer F. Smith, military commander-in-chief in the Department of

California and Oregon. Of my newly formed acquaintances after my arrival, hardly any were more helpful than this distinguished soldier and statesman, in surrounding me with agreeable influences. To the commander of the Pacific squadron, Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, I was also indebted for an early, cordial recognition.

Thus, in these and other propitious circumstances which might be narrated, the young Church which a kind Providence had permitted me to plant, was not wanting in outward influential supports. In the changes of society, each additional religious observance was marked by an attendance of new worshippers. Some of these identified themselves with the congregation, but others were of the class of temporary sojourners awaiting opportunities for going to the mines, their ultimate destination. It is safe to say, 26 during the first year only of this history, many thousands availed themselves, on their arrival in San Francisco, of the opportunity of attending upon our Sunday services. From that date onward, even to the present, strangers have on meeting me said, in our “Tent” or other early places of worship, they attended their first religious service in California.

On the 4th of June, the second Sunday after the organization of the church, five persons, three gentlemen and two ladies, were added to the number of its members.

The Sunday School of the Church was established on the second Sunday, the 11th, of June, with thirteen scholars and a superabundance of teachers. One of the scholars was “Sammy,” a Digger Indian boy, eight or nine years old, an inmate of the family of Mr. C. V. Gillespie. Eight months afterwards, on the occasion of the first administration of baptism in the church, the “child Samuel” was one of three christened. The choice of superintendent of the Sunday School fell worthily upon the senior Ruling Elder, Mr. W. W. Caldwell, who continued to fill the office, except during a brief absence, throughout the period of my pastorate, and for a time afterwards. This good man and useful member and officer of the First Church was possessed of remarkably winning manners—traits 27 which strongly attracted the young to himself and the Sunday School. Here, as in other departments of Christian effort, he was ready for every good word and work. Essentially and energetically a lover and patron of the Sunday School, he manifested his interest in the cause to the end of a long, useful life. Having passed beyond the allotted “three score years and ten,” his fatal

sickness was contracted while ministering to the gratification of the Sunday School of the Church in Philadelphia, of which he was a Ruling Elder. He died wearing the Sunday School harness.

Special notice of the Sunday School of our First Church is proper for various reasons; chiefly, because, under the blessing of God, it was favored with the best instruction and nurture of a company, with the honored superintendent, of specially intelligent and competent teachers. Liberal provision was always made for its wants, in the supply of books and other accessories. Its uniform and marked prosperity was attained in the line of regular school exercises. It neither knew nor needed the adjuncts of the modern *nostra* of festive gatherings, picnics, and excursions. The only special notoriety it received was given in its usual happy Anniversary, and its encouraging Reports of work done and good accomplished. It is not boasting, but simple fact, that during my pastorate it ranked the largest and most flourishing school in San Francisco.

It is proper to recall, also, the department of music in the church services. Three years were passed before a paid choir was introduced. Previous to the change, while singers, male and female, gratuitously served the Church, the organist only receiving a compensation, economy, with excellence in musical performance, was the result. For this grateful offering, the Church was brought under deep obligation to the generous members of the congregation, who so freely gave their services. My own thankful heart does not permit me to leave unmentioned the names of the kind benefactors. A long time, as time was then reckoned, we enjoyed the gratifying musical execution, with Mr. George F. Pettinos as organist, of Messrs. James Gamble the leader, O. D. Squire, H. H. Haight, C. L. Kellogg, and S. G. White; and, not less commendably, the chiming voices of the female portion of the choir, Mesdames Plummer, Gillespie, and Williams.

A Wednesday evening church prayer meeting was instituted at the beginning, as it has ever since continued among the regular appointments of the Church. A faithful few at the first, with increasing numbers as the congregation was enlarged, gave prominence to this means of religious growth. The prayer meeting was truly a centre and stimulus of spiritual life, to which in an eminent degree the intelligent and earnest Christian zeal of this Church, in its many measures of beneficence, must be attributed. Hence, there was never wanting an agency for devising and executing liberal things.

The pastor, note-worthily, ever found in the praying band, a fellowship of well-doing to which he could appeal; and, knowing his ready helpers, appealing, he did not solicit help in vain.

In this connection, I notice the fact that Wednesday evening is the usual time of holding the weekly evening prayer meetings in the city. When, at the dedication of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, the Rev. Mr. Taylor announced the prayer meeting for that church on Friday evening, “that it might not interfere with other prayer meetings,” I suggested to him the propriety of having a common evening, leaving other evenings free for occasional meetings. Mr. Taylor at once changed his announcement, that his church “might fall into line with the others.”

Frequent changes of the place of holding public services were not, to say the least, the most favorable to church growth. Often, too, the place of assembling was insufficient in capacity, and sometimes wanting in comfort. Such inconveniences might be supposed to be, probably were, 30 drawbacks. Yet the vitality of the church organization was maintained. If there may have been reason for complaint on this account, none was uttered. Cheerfully, all seeming untowardness was borne. Strangers were not thereby hindered from joining themselves to our company. Still, in the novel conditions of the times, the Church was not behind the average community in outward conveniences; and the deficiencies were hardly taken into the account in the estimate made of the greater good, when the “spread table” was found for the refreshment of the weary.

It is a very imperfect representation of pioneer pastoral labor in San Francisco, if, beyond the sphere of what is regarded as routine work, there are not also portrayed, in somewhat real pictures, the number and variety of extraordinary occupations, and even such as, in the divisions of effort, are commonly regarded as outside of the profession. The pioneer clergyman, though not the less a clergyman, was, by the force of circumstances, more than his vocation in itself implied. He was a public person, and was supposed to possess, in no inferior degree, the humane instincts which swell benevolent hearts. In this view, it is not unnatural that the minister was often sought for aid in the wide range of demands and interests which ever and anon arose and made their appeal 31 to the sympathizing. Such, in fact, was the wide field which presented itself, and of which only outline touches can be given, as to the almost countless calls for interposition which in those times

were made upon myself and other clergymen in San Francisco. From abroad, far away, came letters of inquiry, many of which could not be answered by a dash of the pen, but required search and much painstaking. In person, too, often the newly arrived, with similar objects in view, made, not unwelcome, their calls. Sometimes, not seldom indeed, these personal applications involved requests for assistance in obtaining business employment or other relief. Increasingly, day by day, such demands upon my own attentions occurred. Often, too, came calls to visit the sick and perform the last offices for the dead—very many, most of these classes indeed, being in the sphere of strangers. In such circumstances, when the pressure was so great, in excitement, hurry, and overstrained activity, which left for me little leisure undisturbed, often involuntarily I asked myself the question, when contrasting these with the quiet scenes of my late New Jersey pastorate, What in the latter place were my occupations?

If not the monotony, the pressure of the multifarious cares which usually came upon me, was occasionally varied by a brief excursion. Such a 32 one was made at an earlier date, in the usual mode of land journeys, on horseback to the Pueblo of San José. Following this, in July, I made my first visit to quaint Sonoma. Preparatory to the latter, I made arrangements for the supply of my pulpit on the third Sunday of that month, and took passage in a launch for Benicia on the day previous, and spent Sunday in that place, taking part with Mr. Woodbridge in the services of his church. The usual duties of the day over, it was proposed that we should ride over to Napa and hold an evening service, which was done. On Monday, we proceeded to Sonoma, and were hospitably received and entertained in the family of Ex-Governor Boggs. In the evening, we held a religious service at the residence of our kind host, whose large family circle, which in 1846 had together made the overland journey from Missouri, formed a very considerable part of the audience. Monday afternoon and Tuesday morning were spent in walks about the town, which still, with its almost exclusive adobe buildings, wore a Mexican aspect, and in a call upon General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, whom I then met for the first time. The General was thirtyeight years of age, very affable and polite, and, withal, frank in discourse, tolerant and liberal in religion, and a strong advocate of popular education. He conversed well in English. In his tones 33 a Castilian accent was prominent, which imparted a heightened interest; as when, to my commendation of Sonoma scenery, he replied

inquiringly, “pict-u-resque, you call it?” Referring to his capture, on the early morning of June 14, 1846, by the Bear Flag party, the General remarked, “In that affair I was caught napping.”

Returning, our route was *via* Napa, crossing the dividing ridge, into Suisun Valley. Again, in the evening of Tuesday, at our lodgings with the Berry family, a small company having collected, divine service was conducted. The next morning we rode, sixteen miles, into Benicia. At the close of the week I returned to San Francisco, with pleasant impressions of a limited missionary tour and its various incidents. General Vallejo made tempting offers to Mr. Woodbridge and myself to take charge of a school in Sonoma, the acceptance of which our engagements prevented.

Soon after my arrival, I spent with a party of friends an entire day in a visit to the Mission Dolores. With one saddle horse for the common use of our party of four persons, our route lay through St. Ann's and Hayes valleys, and over intervening sand hills. St. Ann's Valley was overspread with a thick grove of scraggy, dwarf oaks, from which, as likewise from other portions of the town limits, was drawn a supply of fuel, sold at \$40 per cord. In Hayes Valley we paused to regale ourselves with its luscious wild strawberries. What with the ups and downs and winding courses, it seemed, as commonly held, a good three miles distance to the Mission premises. Here stood at the time the only Roman Catholic church edifice for the worshippers of that faith in San Francisco. The Mission was founded in the year of American independence. Distinguished from others of the same name, the selected patron of this Mission is St. Francis of Assissi, Italy—the name also given to the Presidio, established as an adjunct of the Mission, to the magnificent Bay upon which both are situated, and subsequently to the metropolis which has overshadowed the early foundations.

A novel sight of old and new, Spanish and American, was presented to our view. Changed from the once busy scene of thronging Indian neophytes, and their spiritual masters, the gray-clad Franciscan friars, the principal Mission buildings still stood, their massive adobe walls crumbling in decay; the church in partial ruin, its interior dark, gloomy, and uncomfortable, an earthen floor, and here and there a plain plank bench, and the pictures upon the walls partaking also of the general dilapidation. The apartments next to the church, in the adjoining northern wing, were occupied by the solitary Indian priest. Francisco Santillan, whose name has become famous in connection with a defeated

land claim, involving the title to a large tract of city property. The remaining portions of the buildings, former residences of the *Padres*, were occupied by intruding adventurers, under color of squatter right.

The ancient cemetery of the Mission, which for three-fourths of a century had been the repository of the dead, with its unique monuments and inscriptions, was an object also of special interest. At intervals, in the vicinity of the church, were a few adobe dwellings of California families. This suburb of San Francisco, in its quiet, rural repose, presented a scene in striking contrast with the bustling activity of the city on the Bay.

Variously, the members of our party busied themselves during the day. Two of the number consummated a purchase of the fifty-vara lot on the northeast corner of Clay and Dupont streets. For myself, it seemed proper that I should pay my respects to my clerical brother, Santillan, and I did so. On making known my desire for an interview with the *Padre*, I was shown by an attendant into his room, a plainly furnished apartment, where I found him reclining, *enfermo*, sick. On account of his illness, my visit was shortened. The *Padre* received me very kindly. A small library case stood in a corner of his room. In the shelves were some volumes in English; among 36 them an English Bible. I noticed also a Latin New Testament, and said, “You read Latin, Señor?” Modestly he answered, “*Poco*,” a little. The impression received in this interview was that Padre Santillan, though imperfectly educated, and little informed regarding the outside world, was a simple-minded, sincere man.

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CHAPTER IV.

Church Pilgrimages—The Tent—Church Edifice—Period of Great Fires—Last General and most Destructive Fire—Church Burned—Temporary Place of Worship—Church Rebuilt.

Though beginning at the point almost of “having nothing,” there was given to the young Church the sustaining assurance of “possessing all things.” I remember having been pressed, at that very juncture, with what I could not regard as other than a tempting question from one who,

as a Presbyterian, might consistently have taken part with us: “Can you build a church?” The spiritual temple is, and was, in our view, more important than the material. As the Tabernacle was constructed and furnished in the Wilderness, we could trust and go forward.

For a period, the congregation was led about in a seeming pilgrimage, from its beginning to the time of entering its own “holy and beautiful house.”

The Public School House had, until this time, afforded the only place of assemblies. It was a noted place. A small bell, surmounting a column in the rear of the building, gave no uncertain sound. As well, the venerable bell-ringer, who 38 filled the offices of janitor and town-crier, and perhaps sundry others, was a recognized, prominent feature. In the straitened but sufficient space of the School House, the Union religious services, conducted by the Rev. Mr. Hunt, were held, morning and evening, on Sundays. On the secular days, the place was occupied by my “Institute,” and, on certain evenings of those days, for the sessions of the Town Council, known as the Ayuntamiento, and also of the District Assembly, and for occasional public gatherings.

Opportunely, for the convenience of the young church enterprise, at that instant the District Assembly, in the exercise of its rival authority, organized an independent Court, distinct from that of the Alcalde. For the holding of this Court, a room was provided in a building on the west side of Dupont street, between Jackson and Pacific streets. An application which I made to the officers of the Court, for the use of that room for our Church services, Sunday School, and Wednesday evening prayer meeting, was promptly and gratuitously granted. Accordingly, the third public religious service of the society, on the Sunday following the organization, was held in that place, and, uninterruptedly, we continued to occupy it, as so generously permitted, until the time of the dissolution of the District Assembly, and consequent closing of its Court. A platform, which 39 was given to me by a gentleman doing business in the vicinity, served both for the Bench and Pulpit.

A new place of worship was sought. In the immediate neighborhood, on Pacific street, in the second story of an unfinished building, we met on the two following Sundays.

Incidentally, through a friend, I learned a large tent, which had been the marquee of a military company in Boston, the property of a disbanded mining association, was offered for sale. Consulting with the gentlemen of the congregation, I purchased it for the sum of two hundred dollars. Just at that time, I had bargained for a church site on the west side of Dupont street, between Pacific and Broadway streets. Upon that vacant lot, it was decided to “pitch” the Church Tent. Nearly the whole of Saturday, the 18th of August, was spent in its erection. The volunteers for the work, with myself, were Mr. Alfred DeWitt, Mr. Caldwell, Mr. Martin Robinson, and Judge Woodruff. The handling of the large stretch of canvas, and planting of the two heavy tent-poles, and driving the stakes, and fastening the cords, and attaching its walls, required no small exertion on our part, unused as we were to physical labor. But the effort was a cheerful one; all heartily entered into it, and gladly bore their part, and worked “with a will.” Mr. DeWitt insisted he 40 did it “for his wife's sake,” a very good reason, but not, I am sure, the only one. During the day, Mr. DeWitt surprised as well as gladdened us with the information that he had ordered from New York, through his commercial correspondents, John DeWitt & Co. of that city, a church building. This action at once led to the suspension of measures for our own speedy erection of a church edifice, and gave occasion for a sustained patience, while waiting, as was necessarily the case, to obtain a better structure than could, at the time, be secured in San Francisco. The ground within the Tent, being level and dry, was covered with neat Chinese matting; and with the platform and desk transferred from the late Court room, and a reed organ, and chairs and benches liberally provided, a comfortable and even tasteful place of worship, with a capacity for about two hundred persons, which the Church could call its own, was in readiness for the interesting services, including the first communion, on the following day. When, on that bright Sunday morning of the 19th of August, the crowding congregation, for the first time, worshipped in the Church tent, no lofty cathedral, with nave, and aisles, and arches, and ornaments, could have yielded more real delight. It was as when the Royal Singer “prepared a place for the ark of God, and pitched it for a tent,” (I. Chron., 15, 1.) 41 And hearts were melted in melody of praise, and souls were lifted upward from the earthly tabernacle to the heavenly pattern.

Later, upon a portion of the same lot, I had a Chinese dwelling placed for my residence, which was dignified with the name of “The Manse.”

The early rains of the exceptionally rainy season of 1849-50 interrupted, and at length, in the month of December, obliged a suspension of our religious services in the Tent. For a short time, accepting an invitation, the congregation worshipped on Sunday afternoons in the First Baptist Church, on Washington street.

Again, an opportune favor was bestowed upon us, when Colonel James Collyer, Collector of the Port, and a member of our Church, offered for our use an unoccupied wareroom in the Custom House, the zinc-covered building still standing on the northeast corner of Clay and Dupont streets. The privilege was continued until the wareroom was required for storage purposes, in the early Spring of 1850.

The last removal, previous to entering the church building sent from New York, was made to the Superior Court Room, City Hall, the spacious structure known originally as the Graham House, on the northwest corner of Jackson and Kearny streets. In that place the congregation, having previously maintained a steady growth, 42 increased greatly, and particularly while the church was in the process of erection. The attendance upon the public services became so large, that the adjoining Alderman's Room was also opened, and both places were filled.

With all practicable dispatch, the church edifice ordered was constructed in New York, and forwarded *via* Cape Horn. It arrived in November, 1850. The cost of the building, including all the fixtures, pulpit, pews, chandeliers, and rich-toned bell, was all defrayed in New York, chiefly by the friends of Mr. Alfred DeWitt, connected with the Scotch Presbyterian Church, Dr. James McElroy, pastor. The freight was defrayed from the treasury of the church. A change of the church site, for one more eligible on the west side of Stockton street, between Broadway and Pacific streets, was made, and a contract forthwith entered into for the erection of the building. The work went on apace. The frame was raised and partly covered, when a most severe rain-storm broke upon the city. Strenuous efforts were made to “stay” the building, but in vain; and all was prostrated in a heap of

ruins. Nothing daunted, however, arrangements were at once made by the trustees to reconstruct the building. Many of the valuable materials had been destroyed, but what with supplying the deficiencies and the additional labor and enhancement of expense, the happy 43 completion of the structure was effected. This church edifice was a marked object of admiration in the city. It was the first constructed according to accepted ecclesiastical rules, a beautiful early Gothic building, with porch and belfry. Its capacity, on the ground floor and in the gallery, afforded seven hundred and fifty sittings. On the 19th of January, 1851, the church was opened for dedicatory services. It was overcrowded on the occasion. As many as entered were prevented from attendance for want of room. In connection with the event, it was noticed that thirty-two ladies were present, the largest number of the sex ever before collected in one place of worship in the city. My sermon on the occasion was preached from Isaiah LVI., 6, 7: "Also the sons of the stranger, that join themselves to the Lord, to serve him and to love the name of the Lord, to be his servants, every one that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it, and taketh hold of my covenant; even them will I bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer: their burnt offerings and their sacrifices shall be accepted upon mine altar; for mine house shall be called a house of prayer for all people."

Highly prized as this church edifice naturally was, more than this was its distinction, namely, that it was the scene of marked progress in 44 church interests, a growing prosperity in increasing, permanent numbers and strength.

The destructive fires of San Francisco in the early days were periodical inflictions, which seemed to mark the city as doomed. They had their beginning in '49, and made a part of the crowded incidents of that eventful year. The destroying element was the more sweeping in its effects by reason of the combustible materials of its buildings, high winds, and an insufficient Fire Department, together with a defective supply of water. The most noteworthy fire of 1849 occurred at the close of that year, on the 24th of December. It broke out at four o'clock in the morning, in an "Exchange" on Kearny street, opposite the Plaza, consumed that large and costly building, communicated with the adjoining larger structure, known as the Parker House, and burned it, with other smaller buildings in the vicinity, to ashes. The fabulous incomes from the rents of those principal buildings—from the

Parker House \$10,000 per month, and from the Exchange in proportion—show the great pecuniary losses sustained.

The next great fires were those of the 4th and 14th of May, 1850. These swept over the central business quarters of the city, and were sufficient to crush the average courage of men. Yet, while the ashes were still glowing with heat, rebuilding was commenced upon the ruins.

The fourth great fire took place on the night of the 17th of September, 1850. Again, to an extraordinary degree, were the endurances of the community tried. Before morning the fire had done its completed work, and destroyed property valued at millions.

So frequent and periodical were these fires, that they came to be regarded in the light of permanent institutions. Fears of a recurrence of the dread evil, in view of the past, were not long in waiting for fulfilment. On the anniversary of the fire of the 4th of May, 1850, came another on the 4th of May, 1851, the fifth general fire. The city was appalled by these repeated calamities. And more, it began to be a confirmed conviction that they were not accidental, but incendiary. On the 22d of June, 1851, the sixth, and, happily the last general fire, and severest of all, occurred. The fact that the point of the beginning of this fire was in a locality quite destitute of water facilities, with other attending circumstances, left hardly a remaining doubt of its incendiary character.

To the congregation of the First Church in general, in the burning of its church edifice, and, in addition, to a large number of its individual members, many of whom lost their all in this fire, the event was deplorably ruinous. The fire began in a small frame house on Pacific street, between Stockton and Powell streets, in the rear of the church, on the same block on which it was situated. When first discovered, a bucket of water might have extinguished the fire, but the preventive was not at command, or timely efforts to apply it were neglected. The time was Sunday morning. At the first bell-ringing for the eleven o'clock service, looking out of my north study window, from my residence on California street, I saw a dark cloud of smoke rising from the region of the church. In anxious haste I left for the threatening scene. On Stockton street I met a friend, who reported the fire as already beyond control, and our church beyond the power of preservation. Very many of

the congregation were on the way to the church service at the beginning of the fire. The choir had made special preparation for the music of that day. I reached the church in time to assist members of the congregation in saving the books, organ, and other moveable articles, and last of all, helped to detach the pulpit and bear it to a place of safety. Meanwhile the fire had begun its destructive work upon the west pulpit end of the building, and from the burning masses around had gained such power that in a few minutes the entire structure was enveloped in the 47 consuming flames. The eastern Stockton street front, supporting the belfry, last gave way, and the bell loosened from its lofty height fell into the street and was broken in the fall. In so brief a space of time, the church for which we had waited so long, and in the use of which so much gratification had been derived, was entirely destroyed.

Of course, a conflagration so extensive, with Broadway as its northern limit, southward to the Plaza, and eastward to the line of the Bay, entailed most oppressive losses, and was attended with many striking incidents. Our friends, De Witt and Harrison, saved their large warehouse on Sansome street, with its valuable contents, protecting it with blankets saturated with many thousand gallons of vinegar. Others of our people lost their all. Late in the afternoon, I went outside of the burnt district, seeking such of my congregation as had been extreme sufferers. Not to mention other cases of misfortune, I traced one family, consisting of a father, mother, and two daughters, to their place of retreat, a small room, in the middle of which was the small remnant of articles contained in a blanket, saved from a fully stocked store and a dwelling pleasantly furnished, together with much prized heirlooms from former generations. Only on the previous day, an additional supply of goods had been added to the stock of the store, all of 48 which, according to wont, was fully paid for, but all in a moment was lost.

The lesson of this great fire was not neglected. With the impression of risks from incendiaries, and the fear of repetitions of what was believed to be villainous incendiary work, hundreds of citizens were organized as a *corps* for patrolling the city, especially in May and June, 1852, as a precautionary and preventive measure against incendiarism.

Mechanical labor, building materials, and many other articles of merchandise, rose to greatly enhanced values as a consequence, as had been the case in other preceding fires. Rents were greatly advanced, alike for stores and residences. In the case of the latter, dwellings in the vicinity of, and less commodious than my own residence, readily commanded \$300 per month.

Again the congregation was obliged to seek temporary accommodations. Once, on Sunday evening, June 29th, we worshipped, by invitation, in the First Baptist Church. On the first and second Sundays of July, service was held in the Supreme Court Room, Marine Hospital building, on Stockton street. The place was small, and a change was made to the Superior Court Room, St. Francis Hotel, larger but insufficient in capacity.

The spirit of sympathy and the appreciation of religious institutions which prevailed in the 49 community, found utterance in the public prints. Unasked expressions of this interest appeared editorially. One of the class represents so truly the state of the case, including the plans of the congregation looking to rebuilding of the church, that I transfer it to these pages.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.—We learn that the congregation which were accustomed to assemble at the Presbyterian Church, which was consumed by the conflagration of Sunday last, are taking steps to rebuild, in a more permanent manner, a Temple dedicated to the Most High. We are glad to see this. We are well pleased to chronicle to our friends abroad, that while crime stalks through our city, in too many instances unpunished, while good citizens feel constrained to band themselves together for the protection of their lives and property, while it has been deemed necessary in some instances, in different portions of the State, to visit the guilty with the terrible penalty of death, in order to strike terror into the breasts of scores of felons in our midst, there are still so many amongst us who remember the duty they owe their Creator, who are willing to assist with their means in the erection of a Temple to be dedicated to the living God. Such a movement, made at a time when nearly all are oppressed with heavy losses, will inspire a greater confidence in us abroad than any other which could be made. It will be seen and understood that we desire to do our duty, and that we regard the amenities of life more than we prize a few paltry dollars. Let the

good work progress, and our word for it, the money thus spent will return fourfold to the generous donors.— *The Pacific Star*, Jan. 25, 1851.

A much longer delay than appears necessary occurred before the rebuilding was accomplished. It was at once decided to rebuild. Time was lost 50 in the changing of plans. A brick or stone structure, which would be fire-proof, was first proposed. To this plan the great cost involved was an objection which seemed insuperable. Next, it was suggested to erect a frame church, the exact duplicate of that which was burned, a proposition which was received with much favor. This plan was seconded by Mr. Thomas Chambers, of the house of John DeWitt & Co., New York, at the time in San Francisco, who offered to supplement the contributions of the church for this object, if necessary. On account of the supposed great risk in the frequency of destructive fires, objections against an elaborate Gothic style prevailed. Finally, it was decided to erect a plain building upon the church-site—hardly wisely, I thought—a very plain building it was, constructed in eleven working days, and opened and dedicated for divine worship on the second Sunday, 12th, of October, 1851. In capacity for sittings it was the equal of the former building. The pulpit was that which I had assisted in saving from the burning church; as also, many of the pews and other furniture were relics of the past. This building, unexpectedly, and almost undesired, stood through all the remainder of my pastorate, a witness of much spiritual growth and centre of extended beneficent work.

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CHAPTER V.

First Visit to San José—San Francisco Protestant Churches in '49—Arrival of Roman Catholic Priests—Frederick Buel—San Francisco Bible Society.

Keeping in view the interests of education, and having secured a substitute teacher for a week, at the close of May, 1849, in company with a friend, I made my first visit to San José. The journey was performed in the usual mode of travel, on horseback. Barring the fatigue, the trip was very

gratifying. At San José, as in other places which I had visited, the appreciation of the cause of popular education was all that could be desired, and encouraging hopes in its behalf were assured.

In this route, through the whole distance of fifty miles, the opportunity was enjoyed of seeing the country in its unchanged condition, as it had come into the possession of the United States. We partook of a noonday meal at the hospitable residence of Don Francisco Sanchez, and rested the first night at the house of Mr. Whistman, ten miles distant from San José. In the morning of the second day, we renewed the journey across the proverbially fertile lands of Santa Clara Valley, and through leagues of mustard, whose yellow, flowering tops were, though we were mounted, 52 high as our heads. At no point of the way was the travelled, hard-beaten road enclosed, and no bridges spanned the intersecting creeks. Nor any enclosures, indeed, were seen upon any of the ranches by the way, save the usual California *corral*. Near San Francisquito Creek, a plowman was engaged, in very primitive style—with the sharpened point of the bough of a tree drawn by a pair of oxen, with yokes fastened by leathern thongs to their horns—imperfectly, very superficially disturbing a patch of ground in a seemingly vain effort of husbandry.

San José, too, though astir with the common gold excitement, was unchanged from its external Mexican character. So also appeared the Mission of Santa Clara, whose surrounding surfaces were ridged with the ruins of the walls of adobe tenements, which had served the purposes of dwellings and storehouses in the times of thousands of Indian neophytes. In San José, adobe public edifices for the use of the constituted Pueblo, and adobe residences with adobe enclosures, the inevitable open plaza, unique *caballeros* in *serapes* and broad-brimmed *sombreros*, women in their *rebosas*, gaily caparisoned horses, with here and there the cumbersome *carreta*, were the prominent features arresting attention.

The Alcalde was Kimball H. Dimmick, Esq., one of the late captains of Stevenson's Regiment. 53 This official seemed quite at home in his chief place of authority, to which not a little dignity was imparted by reason of the gold-headed staff of official rank in his possession, which had received the benediction of the Franciscan Fathers. To this cane, as the Alcalde informed me, was given such popular respect, that, in the hands of a lad bearing an order of arrest, it was sure to hold

and unresistingly lead a culprit to the *jusguardo*. An instance of a special form, in the exercise of judicial authority, occurred at the time of this visit. A Californian in the vicinity of San José was found guilty of a misdemeanor, and the occasion was availed of to inflict the penalty of banishment upon the offender, according to a Mexican custom. Captain Dimmick seemed not loth to follow this precedent; and, for some reason, prejudice against the place or otherwise, yet with a gratification which was undisguised, by virtue of his authority, he sent the unfortunate criminal, in banishment for one year, to Benicia!

The Rev. J. W. Douglas, Presbyterian, (New School,) a passenger on board the pioneer steamer *California*, was settled in San José, filling the two-fold office of preacher and teacher. Not remaining over Sunday, I had no opportunity of witnessing the evidences of religious interest in the town. Not long afterward, I was gratified with the information that Mr. Douglas had organized a 54 Presbyterian Church, which, under its different pastors, has ever maintained a prominent rank in the Protestant family of churches.

As in reference to Sonoma, so to this visit to San José belong reminiscences of novel scenes and the increase of permanent, cherished acquaintanceships.

The example furnished in the organization of the First Presbyterian Church of San Francisco had the effect of leading soon to other Protestant Church organizations in the city. The first to fall into line was the First Baptist Church, the Rev. O. C. Wheeler, pastor, on the 24th of July. The Church of the Holy Trinity, Episcopal, the Rev. F. S. Mines, rector, was the next; then, the Methodist Episcopal (now First M.E.) Church on Powell street, the Rev. W. Taylor, pastor; next the First Congregational Church, pastor the Rev. T. Dwight Hunt, in the organization of which, by invitation, I took part, on the first Sunday, 2d, of September. It has ever seemed strange to me that Mr. Hunt, a Presbyterian, did not adhere to the formation of a church of his own religious faith. The last church formed in San Francisco in 1849, near the close of the year, was Grace, Episcopal, the Rev. J. L. VerMehr, rector.

In June, 1849, two Jesuit priests, Messrs. Blanchet and Langlois, arrived from Oregon, and laid the foundation of St. Francis Church, on Vallejo 55 street. Their place was near my own residence in the American House, on Stockton street, and soon I made their acquaintance. Mr. Blanchet, after a short time, returned to his former field. With Mr. Langlois my acquaintance continued and became intimate, as it was also agreeable. He had been stationed at the posts of the Hudson's Bay Company. Not having enjoyed the advantages of a systematic education, he told me it was his wish and purpose to seek such benefits in an institution in Canada. He was unsophisticated and earnest, and at all times ready to coöperate in efforts to promote good morals and the public welfare. At my invitation, he took part in a temperance meeting held in the Public School House, June 30th, but excused himself from speaking in behalf of the cause, only on account of his imperfect acquaintance with the English tongue. In honor of his truly catholic spirit and pious zeal, I recall his successful effort in causing the suppression of a Sabbath-profaning circus near his place of worship, and also his countenance given to our Bible society, and his permission accorded to the free circulation of copies of the Holy Scriptures, in the Spanish language, among the Spanish Roman Catholic population. The edition used was that issued from the press of the American Bible Society, translated from the Latin Vulgate, with the *imprimatur* of high Catholic authority. It is a question whether it was wise to discontinue 56 the publishing of a version which found so free circulation. At a later day, a friend of mine heard in St. Francis Church the Protestant circulation of the Bible publicly denounced. Many copies of the Vulgate in Spanish, however, had passed into the hands of Sonorians, sojourning in the city, and were taken by them, on their return, to their homes in Mexico. Of this version I had a supply at my own residence in 1850, and I had frequent opportunities of observing the avidity with which the Sonorians, as they were made acquainted with the fact by my young son, sought for copies, and thankfully received them.

When later, before the public prohibition, there was an influence used to prevent the circulation of these volumes, the tables were turned by the challenging question, "Do you not know that the United States flag flies here now, and the Bible is free?"

In this connection, I may record the formation of the San Francisco (since California) Bible Society, which took place on the 28th of October, 1849. The leader in this cause on the Pacific Coast was the late Rev. Frederick Buel. Mr. Buel arrived in San Francisco on the 10th of October, 1849. He came a lay member of the church; as such he was introduced to me by the Rev. S. I. Prime, one of the secretaries of the American Bible Society, and also in this capacity commended as, in the view of that Society, “more likely to 57 be acceptable to the people of California.” I refer to this expression as one of the common mistakes in judgment entertained respecting the actual character of our early California population. For, no class was then more heartily welcomed, and no persons were more respected than the clergy. Our Presbytery put emphasis upon this fact, in its prompt action in receiving Mr. Buel into orders. Having been received into my Church as a member, by transfer from the Congregational Church of Litchfield, Connecticut, I had the privilege of introducing him to the Presbytery, and as a graduate of Yale and proficient in theology, he was first licensed as a probationer, and afterwards ordained to the ministry of the gospel.

The public meeting at which our Bible Society was formed, was held in the Methodist Episcopal Church, on Powell street. I was expected to preside, but having been delayed beyond the time of its opening, by what is technically styled a “providential call,” in this instance the marrying of two couples, the Rev. Mr. Hunt presided. Cheerfully and zealously this work was entered upon, a hopeful promise of its future success and usefulness. The first President of the Society then organized was Mr. John M. Finley, a member of our Church. The principal address of the evening was made by Frederick Billings, Esq.

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CHAPTER VI.

Disturbance of the Public Peace—“The Hounds”—First Vigilance Committee—Trial and Punishment—Arrivals by Sea—“No More Ta-tur”—Ministerial Association—Seamen's Friend Society—Benevolent Society—Last Hours of Two Men—The Rev. F. S. Mines—First Marriage Ceremony.

The re-opening of the "Institute," after my week's vacation, was unexpectedly delayed. To another, but necessary use the School House was temporarily appropriated. On the Sunday of my absence, most flagrant outrages were committed by an association of young men, generally known as "The Hounds," though they gave themselves a substitute name of "Regulators." During the preceding two or three months, sundry irregular acts had been committed by them, though for a time attracting little attention. Ignobly they acted upon the rule that "the world owed them a living." Entering stores, and selecting such goods as they pleased, they settled the account by ordering the bills to be sent to Tammany Hall, a tent on Kearny street, called their Headquarters. Growing more and more bold, while a busy community hardly noticed their proceedings, they gave a finishing stroke to their reckless and violent acts, in the afternoon and evening of Sunday, the 15th of July. In fantastic costumes, 59 with banners flying, and armed, these reckless marauders, with insolent effrontery, marched through the town to the slopes of Telegraph Hill. There was congregated a population of Chileans and Mexicans, upon whom they made burglarious and murderous assaults. The citizens then became fully aroused. On the following Monday, a public meeting was held on the Plaza. Addresses were made by Mr. Samuel Brannan, Captain Simmons, Colonel Spofford, and Messrs. Gillespie and Howard. At once, two hundred and thirty gentlemen enrolled themselves as a volunteer police force. Of the offenders, nineteen were immediately arrested. For safe keeping, the prisoners were confined on board the United States ship, *General Warren*, lying in the harbor. A grand jury was empanelled. True bills of indictment were found. Messrs. Wm. M. Gwin and James C. Ward were chosen as Associate Judges to assist the Alcalde, T. M. Leavenworth, in the trial. F. J. Lippitt, Hall McAllister, Horace Hawes, and Frank Turk, Esqs., were appointed Prosecuting Attorneys, and P. Barry and Myron Norton, Esqs., were assigned as counsel for the defence.

The principal trial was the case against Samuel Roberts, a leader of the "Hounds," upon the charge of assault with intent to kill. Other specific charges were conspiracy, riot, and robbery. Full examinations of witnesses were made, the 60 defence being allowed all proper privileges. Able arguments for the prosecution and defence followed. A jury, composed of true men, after considering the case, gave a unanimous verdict of guilty against the prisoner.

Following this case, the trial of the others was taken up. The charges against these men were similar to those in the case of Roberts. Their trial also was in form the same. The result was a summary conviction of the accused.

In passing sentence upon the criminals, the Court exercised a considerate leniency. Although the crimes might have justified severer punishment, it was thought the ends of justice, as Mr. Gwin afterwards remarked to me, would be sufficiently vindicated, and order and peace preserved by the milder form which was pronounced and carried into effect, in imprisonment for various terms.

This episode of the crimes and punishment of the “Hounds,” it is to be observed, marks the first *quasi* Vigilance Committee of San Francisco.

Again, these days of excitement ended, the city resumed its accustomed quiet, and renewed its active business. The experiences passed through left the truthful and salutary lesson, that the intelligent and energetic citizens of San Francisco were able to maintain and enforce an orderly government. The good effect, indeed, was 61 apparent in succeeding years. In 1853, at the appearance of a renewal of acts of outlawry, a simple public notice to convene a Vigilance Committee, caused a complete check to the incipient violence and crime.

The “Institute” was, after the brief delay, reopened for the second and last term, after which pressing parochial engagements obliged me to relinquish secular teaching.

Increasing arrivals by sea became, in the months of June and July, a very noticeable feature; and, in company with a fellow-voyager, Mr. Charles A. Gurley, of New London, Connecticut, it was a pleasant pastime, at the close of the day, to ascend Telegraph Hill, and mark the changes taking place in the harbor. Seldom did we fail to have a view of arriving ships coming up from the Golden Gate, borne onward by the usual favoring afternoon breeze, and, rounding North Point, their decks filled with a living freight of earnest, hopeful gold seekers, ending their long, tedious voyages from far distant ports, at the anchorage in front of the city. When first these excursions began, there were

less than a dozen square-rigged vessels in the harbor. Steadily the number grew, until, at length, the surface of the Bay was darkened by a crowd of shipping at rest.

From the American House I removed in August, 62 '49, to a small adobe building on Powell street, and, as sole occupant, with invited guests at my pleasure, I enjoyed greater quiet and independence. Here began my experience of taking meals at a restaurant. A colored professional cook, with an experience of many years as cook and steward on shipboard, had opened an eating establishment in a tent on Pacific street. The attractions of the place acquired notoriety. By the favorable report of friends, I was led to join them at the tempting table. The variety of dishes was necessarily small, but the paucity was compensated by the quality of the expert, *a la cuisine*. An extra dish at any time was a special gratification. As when, upon a time, our sable host passed around the table behind his guests, and with a fork in one hand, transferred from a dish borne with the other, a small boiled potato to each of our plates. The size of the esculent was hardly greater than that of an English walnut. Potatoes cost money then, and "Uncle Peter" had graduated his supply with mathematical exactness to the demand, of serving all alike. The one distribution exhausted his store. Of this we had assurance, for when my esteemed friend, Mr. Caldwell, beckoned him to his side, and in a subdued tone said, "Uncle, another potato, if you please," he was answered, "Plenty meat and bread; no more ta-tur."

Not the least gratifying, among other Christian fellowships at the time, and in such novel circumstances, were the cordial gatherings and interchanges of the brotherhood of Protestant clergymen in San Francisco. The sphere in which each of us moved was wide, and on this account, all elbowing and jostling were unknown. In his own field, each one of us was sufficiently occupied. But this was not the only reason. If ever true fellowship in a common cause existed, it had place in this early intercourse of the pioneer clergymen of 1849. Very soon, and, as it seemed, very spontaneously, the friendships of our calling took form in a cordiality of reunions. Distinctly we were classed as follows: The Rev. J. L. Ver Mehr and F. S. Mines, Episcopalian; the Rev. O. C. Wheeler, Baptist; the Rev. William Taylor, Methodist, and the Rev. T. Dwight Hunt and myself, Presbyterian. But, in the frank communions of our band, no distinctions were manifest. Every Monday morning, we were accustomed to meet, by turns, at the residence of one of our number.

These meetings were characterized by a harmonious intercourse and fellowship, whose fruit appeared in concert of action. Common plans of usefulness were devised. Of these undertakings was the formation of the San Francisco Seamen's Friend Society, of which Captain Bezer Simmons was President. Its object was chiefly to maintain a religious service for the benefit of the 64 seamen of the port. By a division of labor, in rotation, the clergy conducted divine service on ships' decks, on Sunday afternoons, continued statedly for a series of months, in 1849-50, unless prevented by the rains.

Another necessary and useful association which, in the same manner, came into existence, was the Benevolent Society, which extended its aid to the various cases of want oftentimes presenting their importunate claims. During the severe rainy season of 1849-50, many were the demands made upon the charitable by the unfortunate sick and destitute. And not only generous contributions from individuals were made towards the needed relief, but it was also a most honorable act of the city authorities which gave employment, at remunerative wages, to the unfortunate, who, without these aids, might have perished.

In this connection, but not as included in the special work of the Benevolent Society—only one of many calls upon my time and attention—I recall the incidents of visits paid to two sick and dying men, in September, 1849. Word was sent to me by their kind benefactor, Mr. J. H. Jones, who had provided them with shelter and medical attendance, that, in an outbuilding at the rear of his auction room on Sacramento street, were two men lying dangerously ill. At once I responded to the call, and found the report of 65 extreme sickness too true. One of the men was a Scotch seaman from Fifeshire. He gave good proof of the fact of his early religious training and its permanent impressions. Still, called suddenly and unexpectedly face to face with death, he was in deep anxiety as to his preparation for the change awaiting him. The other was a Virginian, who had, from his early days, been a wanderer in various lands. Unlike his fellow-sufferer, however, so great was his insensibility that little if any concern about his approaching end was shown, though my conversation with him was as plain and direct as in the other case. After prayers, I left them. It was then evening. The next day, I again visited them. They were sinking rapidly. I renewed my conversation and prayers with them. The same contrast of mental states was marked: the

American, sad to say, was dull and listless; the Scotchman, on the contrary, calm and peaceful, was communicative and happy. His last words to me, on leaving, were thanks that I had visited him, and a hope to meet me in a better world. Thus the good old ways of his Presbyterian parentage received the seal of blessing in his last hours, as its teaching and the holding of it in faith had not been abandoned. Both of the men passed away in the evening of this last visit.

The first breach in the fellowship of our 66 ministerial association was caused by the lamented death of the Rev. Mr. Mines, between whom and myself special intimate relations existed, as fellow-students in the Theological Seminary of Princeton. While in that institution, Mr. Mines was among the most zealous of revivalists. When the disruption of the Presbyterian Church took place, his connection was chosen with the New School side. Later, he transferred his relation to the Old School branch, and next to the communion of the Episcopal Church, in which he ranked as a High-churchman. Meeting in a common field of labor in San Francisco, our former friendships were renewed, and continued until death separated us. He used to say to me, "You are a High-churchman as Dr. Miller taught us, regarding the divine right of Presbyterianism, as I believe in apostolic succession." "Yes, I believe," I replied, "in an apostolic succession of principles." "A succession of straw!" was his answer. I said, "Oh, no! not so." In the exercise of a patient submission and cheerful hope, as consumption did its fatal work, my brother awaited his looked for end. Often I visited him, at the breaking of his morn and the passing away of earth's shadows. In my last interview with him, his gentle, characteristic spirit shone brightly; and on parting, he begged me to convey to our ministerial brethren his love, "though," he needlessly added, "I think them in error."

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The disproportion of the sexes was a marked feature of the times. Hence marriages were few. Circumstances render the first marriage ceremony I performed in California memorable. The observing eye of Elder Caldwell noticed among our congregation in the Tent a young gentleman and lady, who passed to and fro in company. The young man was an acquaintance of Mr. C., who took occasion to suggest the propriety of his being married. "Can't afford it," was the answer. Mr. C. said, "I will see that the ceremony shall not cost you anything." The suggestion was heeded. Shortly afterward, I was called upon to marry the couple. Mr. C. remarked to me that he would

assume the obligation of the fee, the amount to be determined by what I should afterward receive. On the 22d of July, 1849, I joined in the bonds of marriage Frederick Hathaway and Mary Elizabeth Smith. A second marriage service was performed a month afterward. The happy groom placed in my hand as a fee an ounce, sixteen dollars. Mr. C., on learning the fact, said, "Let it rest till the next, and then strike the average." The next fee was \$20, and following for the fourth and fifth, I received \$24 each, and "striking the average" myself, I considered the obligation of Mr. C. discharged.

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CHAPTER VII.

Church Progress—Suffering Immigrants and Relief—Captain C. M. Weber, Stockton, and the Rev. James Woods—Town-Building and Town-Sites—Visit to Sacramento—The Rev. J. A. Benton—Mutineers of the Cutter *Ewing* —Attempted Homicide of Passed-Midshipman William Gibson—Naval Court and Incidents—Clemency of Commodore Jones—Execution.

A respected friend once paid me the honor, alluding to the absorbing passion of the community in secular pursuits, to say to me, "Mr. W., I do not see how you could have courage to organize a church in such circumstances." The end in view in our undertaking was sublime; the means and work involved were not strange, but the old, tried, and successful methods of the Church of God in all ages. The organization embodied energetic life. Its constituents were happy and cheerful, and appeared to share in the spirit of good Mr. Caldwell, who was wont to say, he was "content to worship in a Tent, sitting upon a bench." It was our custom to observe bimonthly communion seasons, at which, on each recurring occasion, an increasing accession of communicants was witnessed. Such manifest favor, and growing numbers and strength, causing cheerful satisfaction, might well overcome the temptations to discouragement from any 69 external sources. With a sincere and heartfelt devotion, it was our lot to experience an unhindered growing progress, in all the essential elements of church work and usefulness.

A rumor reached our city in the Autumn of '49, that a body of overland immigrants had arrived in the Sierra Nevada, in extreme want and exposure. the tragic experiences of the ill-fated Donner party were recalled, and at once our citizens took steps to send forward necessary assistance and supplies. Placards, the draft of my pen, were circulated, calling a public meeting, which was held. But while thus engaged in the work of relief, General Smith, by appropriating \$100,000 for the object, superseded the benevolent action of the citizens.

Many centres of population, old and new, in the country, called for the services of clergymen. The excitement in town-building prevailed extensively, and new town-sites, with promises of future results, offered opportunities also for forecasting occupation. These facts were noted by the Rev. Mr. Woodbridge and myself, and made the subjects of communications to our Board of Missions. We made these facts the basis of appeals for a large reinforcement of helpers in this growing field. And this, though we had information that our brother, the Rev. James Woods, was on his way to join us, making with his family the 70 long, tedious voyage, in a sailing vessel, around Cape Horn. The delays of this route were trying as well to ourselves as to our brother.

Yet, for Mr. Woods I had the good fortune to be instrumental in preëngaging an important position in the flourishing town of Stockton. In the Summer of 1849, I made the acquaintance, in San Francisco, of Captain Charles M. Weber, long a resident in the country, the fortunate proprietor also of the Stockton town-site. To that place, Captain Weber gave me a pressing invitation to transfer my residence. This my relations already entered into in San Francisco did not justify. Nor could I forego my many necessary engagements to make the temporary visit which he desired. The opportunity, however, I did avail of, in that first and subsequent friendly interviews, to bespeak and preserve a patient waiting for Mr. Woods. When, at length, in early January, 1850, this brother arrived, this preëngagement, together with letters which I gave and procured from friends for him, prepared the way for his favorable introduction to his successful pioneer work in Stockton.

The business of town-building, on paper, was signally brisk subsequent to and as the result of the first year's successes in the mines, and also in the view of a rapidly increasing population. At mining camps, along the watercourses, and 71 generally here and there, this form of enterprise

showed itself. A new town-site, projected, surveyed, and advertised, was among the frequent new events of early times. Each last promised, of course claimed superiority over all predecessors and rivals. It was a natural prompting, as opportunity offered, to ask in those places, what was always cheerfully given, a promise of a church site. In Benicia, which afterward, in its failure of realizations, was spoken of as the “City of Promises,” this advantage, by the wise action of Brother Woodbridge, had been secured. Then Benicia was the rising rival of San Francisco. But over its claims a shadow was cast by another competitor, high-sounding and triumphant, over San Francisco as well, at the head of deep-sea navigation—New York of the Pacific. It would have seemed a flagrant dereliction of duty, if space for a Presbyterian Church had not been obtained in the new metropolis. Other incidents in connection with like ephemeral enterprises it is unimportant to mention.

With stronger grounds of hope and expectation, I made a brief visit to Sacramento, in November, 1849. From a so-called *embarcadero*, that place had grown to be a town of importance, as the centre of intercourse and trade with the mining regions. A number of Presbyterians made a part of its population. Their affinities for their own denomination, it was supposed, would lead them to welcome an effort to establish there a Presbyterian Church. To further such a purpose, if practicable, was the special motive of my visit. I found the Presbyterians as reported: some of them persons of high social standing in the community; but to the proposal to form a Presbyterian Church the objection, and only one, was made, that their connection had been already formed with the existing Congregational Church. The object I had in view was reluctantly abandoned, and the founding of a Presbyterian Church in Sacramento was postponed to a later period.

During this visit, I was pained to find the Rev. J. A. Benton of the Congregational Church, with other friends, particularly Mr. B., seriously ill with malarious fever. At the time, I invited Mr. Benton to accompany me to San Francisco, trusting that the change would contribute to his recovery. Though not then, afterward, upon further solicitations, I was pleased to receive him as a guest of “The Manse,” and especially to note, that after a brief sojourn in our city and Monterey, his health became fully restored.

This round trip was made the more agreeable by the company of Commodore Jones and his son, lieutenant, and Lieutenant Leroy, of the *Ohio*. I first saw the veteran Commodore in the harbor of Sausalito, where the sagacious commander of the 73 *Oregon*, after passing through the Golden Gate, first anchored under the guns of the flag-ship. Not needlessly, Captain Pearson took this precaution against an apprehended risk, which became a fact in the mutiny of the crew, almost as soon as the steamer's anchor touched bottom. Instead of liberty which the men sought, in order to reach the mines, by the consent of Commodore Jones, imprisonment was the lot of the mutineers, who were transferred to the stronghold of the *Ohio*, and held to complete their contract in the return voyage.

Often afterwards it was my privilege and honor to enjoy the hospitalities of the *Ohio* and her courteous Commander, as the frigate lay at anchor in front of our city. I had frequent opportunities for observing his watchful interest in public affairs. For the preservation of order and peace, and the sustaining of the local government, his services deserve the deep obligations of the country. His coöperation with the Military Commander, General Smith, and with the civil Governor, General Riley, was uniform and effective. To his higher honor, it is to be added, his influence was ever exerted on the side of good morals and the vital cause of religion. I cannot but retain the profoundest sentiments of respect and admiration for his intelligence, statesmanship, loyalty to his country, and an unswerving defence and support of the right.

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The word of Commodore Jones was law. His requests enforced obligation. So I could not refuse his invitation to me, in common with the Rev. Messrs. Ver Mehr, Hunt, and Wheeler, together with the Chaplain of the flag-ship *Savannah*, to a professional service, on board of which vessel, in the harbor, five mutineers were confined, awaiting the execution of their death sentence. The unhappy criminals were a part of the crew of the cutter *Ewing*, United States surveying schooner, commanded by naval officers, lying in the Bay of San Francisco. In the evening of the 11th of September, 1849, a boat from the *Ewing* was ordered to land a party of visitors in the town. The boat was manned by these five men, in charge of Passed-Midshipman William Gibson. The landing

having been made, while returning and in the stream, the men arose upon their officer, and in a desperate struggle threw him overboard, Mr. Gibson dragging one of the men by his cravat overboard with him. The men in the boat rescued their comrade. They repelled every attempt of Mr. Gibson to seize hold of the boat and save himself: and, tauntingly leaving him to drown, they rowed off, effecting a temporary escape. Providentially the impending fate of Mr. Gibson was prevented. Floating in an ebb tide of four knots past the city front, when in his exhaustion he was just ready to sink, his cries for help were heard on board a merchant vessel, and from it a boat put off, and by the flash of its oars was guided to his rescue, and in a state of unconsciousness he was taken on board and conveyed to the shore. Under the very skilful treatment of Dr. A. J. Bowie and other surgeons, at four o'clock the next morning consciousness was restored.

The escaping criminals were arrested near the mouth of the San Joaquin river, brought to the city, and tried on charges of desertion, mutiny, and attempt to murder, and all convicted and sentenced to suffer the penalty of death.

Two days only intervened between the date of our summons to the service of ministering spiritual counsel to the doomed men and the time appointed for their execution. They were all young, and the sad spectacle of their condition, in the freshness of their youthful manhood, was painful in the extreme. Their crime, the guilt of which they seemed keenly to feel, was the culmination of a purpose, it was said, formed at the time of their enlistment in Valparaiso, of deserting and seeking the gold mines. The brief two days of preparation passed, issuing in the confessed contrite penitence of the unfortunate men, and their resignation to their doom.

The fatal morning arrived. To each of the five clergymen one of the condemned was assigned, to be attended upon in his last moments. Ten o'clock came, an hour of life to the unfortunate men remaining. At that moment the men were presented before Commodore Jones, on the deck of the *Savannah*, the flag-ship. In suppressed tones the Commodore addressed them, announcing that according to the request of two of their number, self-confessed, as the more guilty, he had decided to reprieve three of them, (naming them,) commuting their sentence to a temporary penalty. The petition, it was understood, had been written by Hall McAllister, Esq., one of the counsel in the

trial, and did honor both to his heart and intellect. The reprieved, upon one of whom it had been made my duty to wait, all fell upon their knees at the feet of the tender-hearted Commodore, and most earnestly thanked him for his clemency.

The closing scene is soon told. Both of the ill-fated men said they were prepared to die. One, whose name was given as John Black, an Englishman, twenty-eight years of age, was taken in a boat to the cutter *Ewing* by a naval squad, the Rev. Mr. Wheeler accompanying; the other, Peter Black, so-called, a Scotchman, aged only nineteen, on board the *Savannah*, was attended to the staging under the yardarm by Dr. Ver Mehr, whose tender words addressed to the youthful victim, “Don't cry, don't cry,” seem still to linger 77 in my ear. A gun fire—the swirling ascent—all was over.

No words of mine are needed to add to the sentiments of respect universally felt for the brave and generous Commodore, who is so intimately associated with the pioneer times of California. Yet, in grateful appreciation, I desire to be held as not the least in obligations, for many a remembered token of friendly regard.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Climate and Novel Experiences—American House—The Humorous Pope—“Good in All”—Sickness and Cemeteries—A Notable Funeral—Day of Thanksgiving—Political Affairs—State Government and its Inauguration—Earthquake—First Fire.

Every thing in outward conditions seemed strange, and in some particulars the contrasts with the Atlantic seaboard amounted to opposites. The seasons seemed reversed: Winter appeared to have usurped the place of Summer. The dry season was regarded as an insuperable drawback to the cultivation of the soil, and the country, it was concluded, could not be agricultural. For the pioneers who arrived by sea, and had just passed through the heated tropics, and who, by reason of a defective knowledge of the country as well as their relaxed physical condition, were illy prepared to meet the chill, summer trade-wind of the coast, excuses for their utterance of grumbling complaints may be allowed, to which those who arrived at a later date can lay no claim. The mornings in San

Francisco were sunny and warm; the evenings, foggy, blustering, and chill. Warm flannels at all times, and extra clothing in the evening, were an absolute necessity. And this not only outside in the open air, 79 but also within doors. Not only tents and canvas houses, but, in general, the frame tenements, were without the conveniences for fires to impart artificial warmth. A walk which I often made, from the lower and central part of the town—in the vicinity of Portsmouth Square—at the close of the day, to my lodgings in the American House on Stockton street, called also after the name of the proprietor, “Merril’s-on-the Hill,” in nearly a direct course, across unoccupied portions of blocks, was a test, in driving dense fogs and against sweeping cold winds, of the discomforts of Summer afternoons. Nor was the American House—popular as a public resort—proof against the general chilliness. For there too, in the absence of full protection, as the cold wind and the fogs penetrated the crevices of the house, were heard the not unfrequent depreciatory exclamations: “This is your Italian climate!” “This, your new Eden!” “Paradise!”

Yet withal, prejudices and complaints gave way to a general satisfaction; and this more especially, when it was found that no serious disturbance of the healthy functions resulted, but, on the contrary, a bracing stimulus imparted effective vigor to the constitution. A cheerful company often gathered of an evening in the spacious dining hall, which was also the sitting, and some times a sleeping room of the “American.” A humorous 80 English guest, Mr. Pope, “the Pope,” he was sometimes called, enlivened the intercourse with his witticisms, not sparing a great, unsightly drum around which the guests gathered, vainly seeking warmth, of which it was the supposed receptacle from a basement cooking stove beneath; as, for example, when “the Pope” disturbed the general equanimity by saying, “I would I were a pancake,” looking longingly at the drum. “Why, Mr. Pope?” “That I might have a chance at the heat inside.”

In regard to this hotel, it may be said it was marked by several striking features. The American, whatever the number of guests or applicants for entertainment, was never full. Rooms filled, the dining room was opened, and its tables and spaces under the tables were occupied, beds being supplied by the inevitable companion blankets of travellers. The proprietor was also noted for keeping things moving. The building was never finished; guests were transferred from room to room at will; and the rooms themselves were subjected to repeated overhauls. If at any time I

went out for a few hours, I was never sure of finding things the same on my return. On one such occasion, I found my premises seized and possessed by a carpenter, commissioned by the obliging landlord to make alterations which he considered needful. A conversation ensued. My 81 intruding friend was very communicative, told me he had been in the country more than two years, came with Kearney's regiment, etc. Then this dialogue: *Myself*—Are you a Mormon? *Carpenter*—Yes. *Myself*—From what part of the country are you? *Carpenter*—Connecticut, near Hartford. *Myself*—How did you become a Mormon? *Carpenter*—Well, I was first a Methodist; then I was a Millerite two years; and then I joined the Mormons; I believe there's good in all, do-ant y-e-u?

“A clean bill of health,” it was the boast of the times, was the possession of the country when first entered by the pioneers. Such, in general, was doubtless the fact. Various causes led to the introduction of sickness. Of those who made the voyage *via* the Isthmus of Panama, and in the transit had seemed to escape the malaria of the region, some contracted the seeds of disease, which afterward produced their fruits in a cooler climate. Others were victims of exposures in the gold mines, through the combined influence of the heated atmosphere of ravines and the chilling waters of the mountain streams in which the gold washing was performed. Of this class I witnessed many instances. The reward of labor in fabulous returns of the precious metal was marred by the entailment of intermittents and other complaints, not the least afflictive of which appeared in 82 various types of rheumatism—the fruit of exposures. At the opening of the Winter of 1849-50, many miners were impelled by the storms of that season to seek retreat in San Francisco, where, in drenched tents and cloth houses, the dangers to health and comfort were renewed and hardly less severe.

That much sickness and frequent deaths occurred in such circumstances—the usual fatality of new colonizations—is not strange. My experience in visitations of the sick and dying, as also in the burial of the dead, was various as the times. In reference to burials, it was my lot to witness, at different times, all seemingly possible degrees of outward circumstance, from the lowest forms with aspects of cold indifference, to the most showy of elaborate pageantry. Of the latter class I may not give examples; of the former, rare it is true, index of a phase of disintegrated society, belonging to the incidents of 1849, was the funeral of a young man, Mr. T., who had died on board the ship

Humboldt, in the harbor of San Francisco. He was not a member of the company which owned the *Humboldt* and rounded Cape Horn. but had been taken on board at Acapulco, at which port the ship touched. He was then ill of consumption, the final cause of his death. In the wareroom of Simmons, Hutchinson & Co., I performed the funeral service, in the presence of a 83 considerable number of the *Humboldt's* passengers. The coffin was then placed in a plain cart, and driven, the driver only with myself accompanying, to the burial place at North Beach, where our number was increased by the solitary gravedigger. Such was the end of a stranger.

The burial places of San Francisco have had their succession of changes. In the infancy of the city, though outside of business quarters, they were near the centre. The most distant was one already referred to, on the line of Powell street, near North Beach. Another was on the southeastern slope of Telegraph Hill. Still another was on Russian Hill, so called on account of the use of its summit as a Russian burial place, in the time of the Russian Fur Company's establishment in San Francisco. All these were availed of in 1849, and later. The time came when the authorities, in view of the extension of the city, set apart the large gore of land bounded by Market, McAllister, and Larkin streets, for burials, and gave to the plot the name of Yerba Buena Cemetery. When first opened, it seemed remote, and as to access in any direction, could be reached only by passing over a succession of sand-hills. But this, too, has passed away, and the plot is now, in part, the site of the New City Hall.

Before, however, Yerba Buena Cemetery came into disuse, a private corporation, consisting of 84 Nathaniel Gray, Frank B. Austin, and William H. Ranlett, was formed, and a large tract of one hundred and seventy-three acres was obtained for a city of the dead, and called (since changed to Laurel Hill) after the name of the prominent conical elevation near, Lone Mountain Cemetery. This strikingly expressive and appropriate name was chosen out of many different titles, and as the conclusion reached in a council of advisors in which I took part. A notable event was the inauguration of this cemetery, appointed to take place, under the direction of the proprietors, on the 30th of May, 1854. Nearly the entire day was given up to observance of the inauguration The only available route to the cemetery, before any of the direct streets were opened to it, was along the Presidio road to a point near the garrison, and thence up and over the high dividing ridge stretching

out to Point Lobos. Throngs of citizens, in carriages and on horseback, and some even on foot, in succession, wended their way to the scene of absorbing interest.

Although the scheme was under the control of private persons, the occasion was considered one of public interest; and accordingly, the Mayor of San Francisco, C. K. Garrison, Esq., presided, and in the name of the city, made an appropriate acknowledgment of the occasion and its objects. By invitation, it was deputed to me to take a leading part in the devotional exercises. Appropriate chants were rendered in the intervals of the different parts. Especially interesting and ever-memorable was the eloquent oration delivered by our singularly gifted Pacific Coast orator, Col. E. D. Baker. While every part of that oration was most fitting and impressive, and passage after passage thrilled the hearts of the large assemblage gathered in "The Dell," especially sublime was that of which the theme was the resurrection, and which was closed with a recitation, in truest pathos, of the stanza from Dr. Watts: God my Redeemer lives, And often from the skies, Looks down and watches all my dust, Till he shall bid it rise.

Little did we think that so soon, in his own case, would be fulfilled the prophetic description he then gave: "Here future generations shall bring the warrior who has given his life for his country; here shall be brought the remains of the statesman, who shall be remembered by the liberty which he helped to create and the institutions which he aided in bringing to perfection."

Calvary Cemetery, (Roman Catholic exclusively,) situated south of Laurel Hill Cemetery, was established in 1860.

A surprise and a pleasure, which was much appreciated by many Californians, was the 86 Thanksgiving service of 1849, appointed by Governor Riley. It was understood that for this observance we were indebted as well to the suggestion of the Governor's Secretary of State, Capt. H. W. Halleck. The day, 29th November, was by many duly observed. A thanksgiving service was held by the First Presbyterian Church in its Tent, at 11 A.M. A good attendance. The text of my sermon was: "He thanked God, and took courage." Acts XXVIII., 10. Nor was the usual thanksgiving dinner omitted by the good people of San Francisco, in which all doubtless

distinguished themselves. But the best of all, I think, was enjoyed around the hospitable board of Mr. C. V. Gillespie, at which, with Dr. Turner, Mr. Billings, and Captain Macondray, I was an obliged guest. The close of a sumptuous entertainment was enlivened by one of Dr. F.'s *bon mots*, when in pleasant irony he rounded off the lively conversation of the feast by saying: "About this time, our friends at home are gathered together at their thanksgiving dinner, and, their thoughts turned toward us here, they are saying, 'Poor fellows in California! they have nothing to eat or drink.'"

Not as a politician, but as a citizen interested in all that concerned the rising commonwealth, I could not fail to share in the common solicitude felt in the right ordering of public affairs. I had watched the signs of unrest shown in a natural 87 impatience under the existing forms of civil government. The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had continued the forms of the Mexican Republic when not in conflict with the Constitution of the United States. To some holding office, under the names and with the irresponsible authority of the Mexican *regime*, the existing state of things may have been satisfactory, but not so to all. Hence, the attempts to establish more liberal institutions in better harmony with American usages. The rival governments, known as "District Assemblies," which sprang up in San Francisco and a few other towns, were the expressions of an opposing sentiment of dissatisfaction. But all this was brought to an end by the efficient action of Governor Riley, who ordered the dissolution of the "illegal" Assemblies, and at the same time took the initiative towards the formation of a State Government for California. On the 3d of June, the Governor issued his proclamation providing for the election, on the 1st of August, of delegates to a Constitutional Convention, to meet at Monterey, the Capital, on the 1st of September, for the purpose of framing a State Constitution. The entire scheme of forming a State Government was also projected by the Governor; voting of the people on the ratification of the Constitution; the election of a Governor, Lieutenant Governor, members of a State Legislature, 88 and representatives in Congress; and the convening of the Legislature on the 15th of December; all of which was carried into effect, with the inauguration of the State Government in all its departments. These important movements formed the crowning civil exploits of the pioneer year, and the setting in motion of the wheels of government was the fitting, final act of 1849.

With the cause of public education, I had a special sympathy, and by suggestions to members of the Constitutional Convention, contributed, I believe, somewhat to the liberal views and action of the body, which had effect in their noble advocacy and support given to the cause. The same personal interest in a matter so vital to the welfare of society, prompted me to desire to be present at the opening of the Legislature in San José, the new seat of government.

There were two routes to the Capital: by land, on horseback, and by steamboat, on the Bay to Alviso and thence by stage. The rainy season had set in with uncommon severity, and rendered the roads quite impassable. To meet the existing demand, an extra effort was made, and two steamboats, so-called, were brought into requisition. One was the little *Mint*, a miniature pattern, so crank that she was nearly capsized in the trip. The other, the *Sacramento*, was a scow, supplied with an engine, originally intended for dredging 89 for gold in the Feather river, which proving impracticable, a deck and paddles were added, and she was transformed into a passenger and freight craft, and employed in trans-shipments from sailing vessels on the Bay, between the mouth of the Sacramento river and Sacramento City. In this service, in the Summer and Autumn of '49, the *Sacramento* played a useful part, notwithstanding sundry witticisms perpetrated at her expense, one of which was that, in one of her trips, "she had put into the port of New York-on-the-Pacific in distress, being out of wood and water."

Preferring the *Sacramento* rather than the *Mint*, I committed myself to the former for passage, with a company largely in excess of her meagre accommodations. The only shelter was a small, square cabin upon the stern. There, by turns, were quartered members of the Legislature, and candidates for various offices, among whom were half a dozen or so aspirants for the United States Senatorships, and, not least, a bridal party, Col. E. J. C. Kewen's.

About nine o'clock on the morning of the 12th of December, we left the wharf of San Francisco. Progress was slow, about four miles per hour, but all was well until mid-afternoon, when for a short time almost a panic occurred, at the report that the boat had sprung aleak and was filling with water. Such was the fact, but the water entered 90 not by a leak in the hull, but through an opening in the stern, around the rudder post. A westerly wind had raised a "sea," and the waves beating against the

stern had gradually poured their crests through the opening. Whereupon, the prudent master ran the vessel under the lee of San Mateo and anchored until the breeze abated. A calm night followed, and resuming the voyage the next morning—twenty-four hours out—found us moored beside the mud bank of Alviso. Thence, in sundry vehicles, we were ploddingly transported through deep mire over the “stage” portion of the route, and at four P.M. we were set down in the ancient Pueblo, to find lodgings as best could be done.

On Saturday, the two branches of the Legislature were partly, and on Monday following, fully organized. During the first week, Governor Riley having resigned the office which he had honorably and usefully filled, Governor P. H. Burnett was installed in office, as also the Lieutenant Governor, John McDougall, and Colonel J. C. Fremont and Wm. M. Gwin were chosen United States Senators, and the business of legislation was entered upon.

It seems needless to add, the pioneer year 1849 was crowded with important enterprises and changes in the many “first things” of California. The general facts, and not the details of those 91 events, need only to be referred to, while it is proper to add, those only who witnessed and participated in them can adequately appreciate the reality. Change followed change, insomuch that we became accustomed to change. A new surprise was a usual morning experience. The person who in a dark night stumbled, in one of the streets, into a mortar bed, and gave an equivocal utterance to his feelings on recovering himself, exclaiming, “I wish San Francisco were finished,” expressed a common desire for relief from excitements, oftentimes a burden and weariness.

During the Summer of '49, a circle of my friends, so they reported, one evening were conversing upon the teeming fullness of incidents which had already occurred, and it was remarked by one of the number that nothing but an earthquake was wanting to complete that fullness, and at that very moment an earthquake shook the house in which they were sitting. They felt the tremor, but unused to the sudden visitor, formed many conjectures respecting the fact and its cause, among which was the suggestion that it was the dropping of Lieutenant Blair's foot upon the floor from a chair, on which it had been resting, which caused the tremblor.

To the veritable earthquake must be added a severe conflagration, in San Francisco, on the 24th of December, 1849, forerunner of the terrible 92 desolations which swept over the city, in 1850 and 1851, in no less than five subsequent, general fires.

What with the surging masses of all nationalities who entered California in '49, and the many experimental and permanent schemes of industry, and foundations of religious, social, and charitable institutions, the incipient, progressive, and final steps in the formation of a State government, with its wheels set in motion, together constitute a series of benign efforts and gratifying results, and, all in all, a full-rounded year of success.

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CHAPTER IX.

Winter of 1849-50—Communion Season and Incidents—"A Regular New School Blue Presbyterian"—Annual Review—Presbytery of California—The Press of San Francisco—*The Watchman*—Family Reunion—Visit to Oregon—Dedication of the Presbyterian Church of Clatsop Plains—Two Deeply Lamented Deaths—Cholera in San Francisco—Ecclesiastical Councils—Second Meeting of the Presbytery of California and Installation.

It is impossible to exaggerate, in any attempt, the story of the inconveniences incident to the extreme rainy season of 1849-50. Streets which were used by vehicles were miry, and most of the tenements of San Francisco miserably uncomfortable. A similar condition of things prevailed throughout the State. Although much suffering was alleviated by the kind interposition of the charitable, it was painful to witness the adverse conditions of many suffering acute fevers, whose best shelter was a tent drenched with the pelting rains. Recovery in such circumstances seemed a miracle. The City Hospital was a noble beneficial institution, and the city's lavish assistance in behalf of the dependent reflected upon the authorities the highest honor. The charities bestowed through the Benevolent or Strangers' Friend Society, and by the direct action of the Masonic 94 fraternity and other social organizations, as well as private benefactions, were all that could be expected in any community; in existing circumstances among strangers and for the relief of

strangers, the more praiseworthy because unselfish. Well do I remember, though I need not relate, my own repeated exposures during the stormy 1849-50, when duty called me to the couch of the sick and the last rites over the dead. Riding, if the means had been at hand, was out of the question, and walking even, next to an impossibility. In the performance of these services, I visited often, during his lingering sickness, Dr. Bybee of Memphis, Tenn., a member of the church of my friend, the Rev. Dr. John H. Gray. In his case, the value of “a good hope through grace” was manifest, and in life and death he felt the supports of the divine Savior in whom he trusted. On one of the most stormy days of the season, the 8th of January, 1850, his funeral took place, from his place of residence on Jackson street. Many friends of the deceased, including his brethren of the Masonic Order, accompanied the remains, borne by the only carriage employed on the occasion, to his grave. The burial was on the summit of Russian Hill, and our walk in the heavy rain and through the miry way to the base of the hill was both difficult and disagreeable. How difficult and trying the walk was I can testify, for 95 often, though selecting my way as best I could, I sank in the mire to the top of my boots. In that season of sickness, it was my own lot to contract an intermittent fever, which proved a long continued affliction; yet not so affecting my general health and vigor as to prevent me from the regular fulfilment of the duties of my office; and this, although a Monday's chill invariably followed Sunday's exertions.

Often, in connection with the public services of our Church, were seen striking instances of religious sensibility. Especially was this witnessed in the case of devout persons for the first time enjoying the privilege of Christian ordinances in their new and strange home. Again and again, have I seen, from among those who had just arrived from a trying, long journey overland, or from a no less trying experience of the sea, having safely escaped the ravages of cholera and fever, strong men bowed, overcome by their tender and grateful emotions, and weeping with tears of joy through the entire services. On one occasion, perhaps the nature of the service contributed to the effect—it was a communion season on the first Sunday of February, 1850—a gentleman worshipping with us for the first time, and seemingly wrought up to a pitch of uncontrollable emotion, at the close, came forward, grasping my hand, and introduced himself to me, Mr. J. McK., late from 96 the good Presbyterian city of Pittsburg, as a “Regular New School Blue Presbyterian,” evidently confused

and hardly knowing what he said. On the same occasion, we were permitted to rejoice over the addition of a member to our Church, by an original profession of faith—a very interesting young Hollander, who, in an attendance with us, was moved to make this Christian consecration.

The following is the entry, as a review, in my Note-Book: “February 5th, 1850. Just one year has passed since I embarked at New York for this new land. It was for many reasons a dark day, when I felt myself suddenly torn away from my home and friends. But soon I was persuaded that a wise and gracious hand was leading me onward. The little which I have been enabled to do in the cause of my blessed Master, during the past year, although it does not satisfy me, yet proves a source of conviction that I have been led in the path of duty.”

The Presbytery of California, upon the arrival of the Rev. James Woods, in January, 1850, having a quorum of members, at an early practicable day, the 20th of February, 1850, held its first meeting in Benicia. The opening sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Woodbridge, from Ps. LX., 4: “Thou hast given a banner to them that fear thee, that it may be displayed because of the 97 truth. Selah.” A very appropriate and excellent discourse, setting forth Christ as the banner, and our denominational interest in bearing it forward. The sessions were continued through two days, occupied in forming plans of systematic effort, and were closed with an interesting installation service, constituting Mr. Woodbridge pastor of the Church in Benicia.

With the advent of Americans and their possession of California, came the establishment of the Press, index of their civilization and its essential appendage. A little more than a month after the hoisting of the United States flag, the Rev. Walter Colton and Dr. Robert Semple, in August, 1846, issued the first number of the *Californian* in Monterey. Nine months afterward, the publication was transferred to San Francisco. At the close of 1846, Mr. Samuel Brannan began the publishing, in San Francisco, of the *California Star*. At a later date, the two papers were blended in one, and the publication continued to the beginning of 1849, when, as its outcome, the *Alta California* was established, the sole journal of the town, and, happily surviving the fall of many others which have had a temporary existence, continues still a leading commercial authority. Subsequent to the *Alta*

California in 1849 and onward, arose the *Pacific News*, *Journal of Commerce*, *Herald*, *Courier*, *Picayune*, and other papers.

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Very clever were the writers connected with the early San Francisco Press, who are readily as well as pleasingly recalled. Not to exhaust the list, I note the names of Gilbert, Kemble, Soulé, Lawrence, Livingston, Durivage, Brinsmade, Nugent, Farwell, Ewer, Bartlett, Robb, Lull, Crane, Wells, Washington, Nisbet, not omitting ever-brilliant Lieut. Derby, (Phœnix,) whose letters gave so great entertainment. With their numerous gratified readers I was one, and not the least, in obligation for the pleasure enjoyed, because, in appreciation of the sacrifices of my profession, some half-dozen papers, for a considerable period, were gratuitously left at my door.

Early in 1850, prematurely perhaps, it occurred to me to commence the publication of a religious newspaper. That my motive and object in this regard may appear, I transfer to the present volume my introductory leader:

When some months ago, the wishful purpose to issue a religious newspaper from this point was disclosed to a small circle of ministerial brethren, the ready response was made, “print it.” Other friends have since said, “print it.” And now, though awhile hindered, we are permitted to execute our cherished desire to “print it.” Quite assured it is both timely and encouraging to add a religious journal to the issues of the periodical press in this country, we entertain no apprehension of being regarded, in any quarter, as an intruder; while, as an organ of intelligence to a large body of friends of religion and sound morals, both in this and other States, we cherish for the *Watchman* the 99 fond expectation of a kindly greeting. An assumed concession of the benign influence of pure religious faith and morals in society is our high vantage ground, which we take in combining with other ministries for imparting a correct moral tone to social organizations, that acknowledged instrument of power in modern times, the Press. The field of Christian ethics is our appropriate and prescribed province; and, embracing also whatever subsidiary aids are found in congenial topics connected with the cause of learning and matters of general intelligence, our aim and desire alike are to contribute to the healthy and safe advancement of the public welfare of this growing

commonwealth. The true well-being of society, it is hardly needful to say, cannot be secured without having regard to the great moral truths and precepts inculcated in the Bible. And our earnest wish is, that this new State may early adopt for its motto the Bible truth: “Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.”

The design, which received the approval of my brethren, I was enabled, upon the occasion of the first anniversary of my arrival, to carry into effect. On the 1st of April, 1850, I issued the first number of the *Watchman*, a religious monthly of eight pages. Many “pleasantly said things,” as friend Robb of the *Stockton Journal* put it, greeted the appearance of the paper. The expense, \$150 per number, was almost entirely my own. Still, it was my intention to persevere with the publication, until hindered by a destructive fire, and, renewing the effort, finally stopped by a second fire, which also consumed the office in which it was printed. With the fourth number, and copy prepared for 100 another issue, the first religious newspaper published on the coast came to an end.

At the date of my departure for California, so little was known about the country, and so much uncertainty existed as to the question of comfortable means of living, that it seemed best to make the experiment alone, leaving the question of being joined by my family to further developments. The return of my dear friend Captain Bezer Simmons to “the States,” for a brief visit, in the discharge of a sad duty, was the favorable opportunity for the gratification of a cherished desire. I was doubly obliged, indeed; for in making the voyage to California, my wife and two children were assisted by both Captain Bezer and his brother, Captain Nathan Simmons, a better man, he said, than himself—they were both good men; and under their charge, my family was safely landed in San Francisco from the steamer *Tennessee*, on the 20th of June, 1850.

With the increasing population of the city and our own enlarged accommodations in the Superior Court Room, the congregation was proportionally increased in numbers. In these circumstances, my parochial duties were multiplied. Church growth and prosperity are not attained without work—hard work. It is needless to say, such effort the circumstances demanded. I could not decline manifest calls of duty. The saying of 101 Cotton Mather, “The opportunity of doing a duty makes

the doing of it a duty," I remembered, and endeavored, as far as in my power, to fulfil. This series of activity and constant draft upon my system allowed no rest for recuperation, and a recurrence of chills and fever continuing, an enforced vacation was by medical advice regarded necessary. In September, 1850, an invitation came to me from the Rev. Lewis Thompson, of Clatsop Plains, Oregon, through my friend Mr. W. H. Gray, of the same place, to take part in the dedication of the Clatsop Presbyterian Church. This request, in connection with the seeking of health, led me to take a voyage to Oregon. On the 23d of September, I embarked with my family on board the steamer *Panama* for Astoria. Landing at that place, we were hospitably entertained by General John Adair, Collector of the Port, a firm Presbyterian; and on the 28th were accompanied by him in an Indian canoe across Young's Bay, and on the peninsula to the residence of Mr. Gray. On those fertile plains resided a community whose life and habits were an exact likeness to the manner of their late eastern homes in New York and Pennsylvania. Conspicuous among the number was the venerable ruling elder, "Father" Condit, a worthy example of the piety which he professed and adorned. The youthful pastor, Mr. Thompson, fresh from his theological studies in 102 Kentucky, in a true missionary spirit, had crossed the continent, and in that rural scene cast his lot, and gathered as a faithful shepherd a spiritual flock. The zeal of pastor and people was signalized by the church edifice which they had reared, a monument of pious devotion to the God of their fathers. And when, on the Lord's day, they assembled in their sacred edifice, formally to set it apart for the worship of Almighty God, it was a palpable fact that the house of God was dear to them. If in any degree my visit proved a gratification to those people, so also was my own pleasure enhanced by meeting with them and ministering to them in their church and homes. The object I sought, a restoration of my health, was likewise gained in that pure, mild climate.

Again we were the obliged guests of General Adair in Astoria, and with him, in a small steamer in which he had an interest, ascended the Columbia, grand river of Oregon, and the Willamet, as far as Portland. Our stay in Portland was brief. The town was young and small. Only very limited clearing had been made, and primitive forest trees shaded many of the buildings in the place; and standing pools of water here and there were more than probable, they were actual sources of disease. Returning to our home and work, we enjoyed the pleasure of a passage on board the good

steamer *Oregon*, which had landed me first 103 in San Francisco. This ship had brought on her last voyage the important news to California of her admission as a State into the Union. Copies of the *New York Tribune* extra, September 11th, 1850, brought by the *Oregon*, contained the following announcement:

We are at last enabled to send the news so long awaited by our fellow-citizens on the Pacific Coast. California is admitted into the American confederacy, and to-day takes rank as the thirty-first State of the Union. The bill for her admission was brought up in the House on Saturday, and after a short discussion, passed as it came from the Senate. The fifty-seven votes against the bill were all from the ultra Southern members. The representatives from California, who have been long in waiting, will probably take their seats to-day. The news has been received everywhere with the most unbounded satisfaction. At Washington, minute-guns were fired on Saturday evening, followed by a display of fireworks. In this city, many of the hotels and public offices hoisted the national flag in token of rejoicing.

If in the Eastern States the admission of California was welcomed with so great enthusiasm, much more to Californians the fact, as it became known, excited a more intensified interest. The scene in San Francisco, as described to us by Captain C. P. Patterson of the *Oregon*, upon the receipt of the news among the enthusiastic citizens, was one of the wildest excitement. Business places and homes were vacated. At the mere view of the approaching steamer with a display of all her bunting, the entire population was in the 104 street, moved as by a common impulse. Rivals and even enemies forgot their differences, grasped each other's hands, embraced, and—as truth it must be recorded—rushed, many at least, into drinking places, and according to prevailing custom, “more honored in the breach than the observance,” gave expression to their highly-wrought cordiality in free convivial indulgences. Our arrival at San Francisco was in time to take part in the imposing pageant of the authorities and citizens in celebration of the great event, on the 29th of October.

During my absence, my pulpit had been regularly supplied, and in other respects the interests of the Church had been zealously fostered. Particularly, I may note a favorable change of our church-site, preparatory to the erection of the building soon expected, to Stockton street.

But, with much to gladden my heart on returning with restored health, and meeting with evidences of the prosperity of my Church, I was deeply grieved to learn that in the interval of my absence, we had suffered a painful bereavement in the death of our esteemed Captain Bezer Simmons. He was ill when I left the city, and the evening before my departure, with my wife, I visited him, little thinking it was the last time we should see him on earth. Nor was this our only bereavement. During the same period 105 another valued friend and member of our congregation had died, away from the city—Mr. Knowles Taylor, brother of the sainted James Brainerd Taylor. This brother's prayers and addresses had been especially edifying in our social religious meetings. In the mutual confidences and hopes of our society, we had looked to both of these good men for support and encouragement; and their loss to us could not be regarded as less than a great and painful affliction.

Resuming my parochial duties, I had soon need for an extra measure of strength, when, in that Autumn of 1850, San Francisco was visited by the fearful scourge of cholera. Already, at the date of my return, reports had reached the city of its progress overland and appearance in Sacramento. A few days only elapsed, and the dreaded pestilence was upon our community. One of its earliest victims was a personal friend and prominent merchant. Word of his dangerous condition came to me, and at once I repaired to his bedside in the St. Francis Hotel. As in all similar cases which it had been my lot to witness, the intellect of the patient was unclouded. In a very brief space of time, he had been brought to the gates of death, for his recovery was beyond hope. The anxiety of his mind in regard to his eternal state was intense. This was my first and only visit, for I remained with him about two 106 hours, and with my own hands closed his eyes. Yet, in that brief interview, it was my happiness to offer to my friend, upon the assured authority of the divine word, the promise of everlasting salvation through a crucified Redeemer. He was attentive, and joined earnestly in my prayers. His paroxysms were intensely severe, but the strength of his will enabled him to rise above all sense of pain, absorbed in a deeper involved question. At my mention of his pious mother's many fervent prayers in his behalf, his countenance relaxed and brightened, and he said, "That is the most encouraging word you have spoken." Not without reason I felt, when his spirit took its flight, his prayer, "Lord, remember me in thy kingdom," was heard and answered. Daily, and hourly

almost, during that cholera season, were my visits made to the suffering, and daily I performed the solemn rites of the burial of the dead.

In December, 1850, the ladies of our congregation, ever helpful in furthering its interests, in order to assist in defraying the expenses incurred in the erection of our church edifice, held a Fair—the first Church Fair of California. The effort was a marked success. The use of the Armory of the California Guards was obtained. The receipts on two evenings only, were, for admission, one dollar each, \$570, and in donations 107 and net value of sales, \$3418. A desire for a continuance of the Fair a longer time was expressed by friends of the cause, but grateful for the generous reward of their labors, the ladies were satisfied with the “enough” received.

The first Congregational Council I was unexpectedly called to take part in, met in San Francisco, June 26th, 1850, for the installation of the Rev. T. Dwight Hunt over the First Congregational Church. Besides, there were present the Rev. J. A. Benton and the Rev. S. H. Willey: one Congregationalist and two Presbyterians, to constitute a Presbyterian clergyman a Congregational pastor.

A second Council I attended in Sacramento, on the 5th of March, 1851, and assisted in the installation of the Rev. Mr. Benton over the Congregational Church in that city.

The Presbytery of California held its second session in San Francisco, in September, 1850, and at that time my formal installation in the Pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church was consummated.

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CHAPTER X.

A Busy Period—Dedication—Orphan Asylum Society—Renewal of Crime—Vigilance Committee of 1851—Executions—Whittaker and Mackenzie—Review of 1851.

During December, 1850, and January, 1851, a busy scene of activity was witnessed at the site of the First Presbyterian Church. All the materials of the building had come to hand, complete in quantity,

and duly fitted and marked for its erection. Being the first church edifice in the city constructed according to a strict ecclesiastical design, the progress of work on the building was watched with a lively interest, not only by the members of the First Church, but by the community generally, by whom it was regarded with pride, as a mark of progress. The style was of the early Gothic order, and singularly tasteful. The seeming disadvantage we had suffered in so long a delay, compared with other congregations which had for some time occupied their several houses of worship, such as they were, was more than compensated by the quality of our church building.

At length, the finishing touches were given to the sacred house. When, on Sunday, the 19th of 109 January, 1851, the congregation entered it for the first time, I was permitted, with a joyful heart, to take up the language of the Psalmist, and say, “I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go into the house of the Lord. Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem.” The sitting capacity of the church provided for a congregation of seven hundred and fifty, which number, long as the building stood, was the usual attendance upon the Sunday morning and evening services. The same period was marked by intense church life and constant activity. Though highly favored in its commanding position, its advantages were not hoarded for selfish gratification, but employed as means to useful ends. The zeal of the Church was proof of the spirit which animated and moulded its organization. All this was known and felt. The employment of its strength in beneficent work was a distinguishing feature. Its income was in excess of its ordinary expenses, and as a society and through its individual members, aid was often rendered to new or struggling churches, and other benevolent objects, outside, as well as in behalf of causes connected with our own denomination. Its charities were, proverbially, broad and catholic.

In the review of those times, I recall the remark made to me by an English gentleman, a member of the Independent Church, who, while 110 residing in the city some two or three years, identified himself with the First Church. Speaking of the general character of this Church, Mr. H. said, “In all his extended travels and observation, he had never seen or known an instance of such remarkable prosperity.”

Among the incidents connected with visitations of the sick in the Winter of 1850-51, was one of special interest. The City Hospital, on the north side of Pacific street, between Montgomery and Kearny streets, was a retreat not only for the sick supported by the city, but also for persons possessed of means, who sought in its provisions medical attendance and care. Of this latter class, was Mr. William Crockett, of Nashville, Tennessee. This gentleman was stricken down with fever, and became an inmate of the hospital in February, 1851. He had warm personal friends, who gave him most friendly and careful attentions. Of the clergymen visiting the hospital, the Rev. William Taylor was the first to become acquainted with him in his sickness. Mr. Crockett had been reared a Presbyterian, and, true to the peculiar faith of his fathers, he expressed a wish to see a Presbyterian minister, and through Mr. Taylor I was asked to visit him. He was all in intelligence and culture that could be expected in one whose family and associations ranked among the most respectable in his native State. 111 My visits were received with marked interest, and from first to last the engrossing subject related to his spiritual welfare. Though he had never been a communicant, he was well informed as to the saving doctrines of the gospel, and was thus brought near to the kingdom of heaven. A more sincere seeker of an assured interest in the saving grace of Christ, I think I never have seen. Disease, meanwhile was making steady, fatal progress. His first desire, in the prospect of his approaching end, was to be an accepted believer in the Savior; and second to this, he wished to be received into the communion of the Presbyterian Church, the church of his fathers. The evidence of his fitness to enter into this relation, I did not doubt, and at his bedside, to myself, and Mr. Caldwell, representing the Eldership of the First Church, on the 18th of February, the formal profession of his Christian faith was made; and he was enrolled a member of our Church, sealing his covenant engagement by partaking of the Lord's Supper. He departed this life in peace, and in assurance of the life everlasting.

It is a lasting honor of our Church in its beneficent work, that it bore an important, indeed the principal, part in the founding of the Protestant Orphan Asylum of San Francisco. By its prompt action, and in the favorable history of that eminently popular and successful institution, 112 this Church is doubly distinguished. The origin of the institution is the following. In January, 1851, Mrs. Nathaniel Lane, a respected member of the First Church, during a call at my residence, was the

first to make the suggestion which led to the organization of the Ladies' Orphan Asylum Society. This lady spoke of the importance of making provision, such as she had been familiar with in New Orleans, for the care of orphans. The subject was at once taken up and communicated to other ladies of our congregation. But not confining the effort to ourselves, while the prompting and first movements had this source, the coöperation of ladies of all the Protestant churches of the city was invited and secured. A Protestant, undenominational association was the result. It was agreed to hold a public meeting, for the purpose of forming the proposed society, January 31st, 1851, in the First Presbyterian Church. Due public notice was given. I wrote for publication in the *Alta California* an item on the subject, and also drew up a Constitution for adoption at the meeting. The programme was carried out as agreed upon among the original advisers. The meeting was held, attended by a goodly number of ladies. I was present by invitation. The Divine favor was invoked upon the undertaking, the Constitution as prepared was adopted, and under its provisions 113 the Ladies' Orphan Asylum Society was regularly inaugurated, and put in operation by the enrolment of members and the election of officers. The first staff of officers was the following: Mrs. Albert Williams, President; Mrs. S. H. Willey, Vice-President; Mrs. J. Boring, Treasurer; Mrs. J. H. Warren, Secretary. The Managers were Mrs. R. H. Waller, Mrs. William Taylor, Mrs. O. C. Wheeler, Mrs. C. V. Gillespie, Mrs. J. Joyce, Mrs. A. Dubbs. Trustees: Charles Gilman, Stephen Franklin, D. L. Ross. Matron, Mrs. Wilson.

Not too soon was this Society formed, for at once it was needed to take care of a few dependent orphans. During the first year, the number under its charge was eight. A dwelling on the southeast corner of Folsom and Second streets, belonging to Captain H. W. Halleck, was occupied as an Orphans' Home, by the generosity of the owner, free of rent, until 1854, when the Asylum building was completed. The cost of the Asylum was about \$25,000, which amount was contributed by the liberal friends of the institution. The board of management, under whose efficient supervision the old north wing of the Asylum was constructed, was composed of the following persons: Mrs. Albert Williams, President; Mrs. J. Boring, Vice-President; Mrs. R. H. Waller, Treasurer; Mrs. C. V. Gillespie, Secretary. Managers: Mrs. Alfred DeWitt, Mrs. 114 David Gillespie, Mrs. William Leffingwell, Mrs. Henry Haight, Mrs. A. M. Pettit, Mrs. T. Dwight Hunt, Mrs. F. W. Macondray,

Mrs. S. R. Throckmorton, Mrs. I. P. Rankin, Mrs. J. H. Titcomb. Trustees: Charles Gilman, Stephen Franklin, D. L. Ross. Matron, Mrs. Wilson. In 1854, the number of orphans in the institution was twenty-four.

This brief notice of facts, familiar to all contemporaries, covers a part only of the history of the diligent and efficient efforts of the benevolent ladies engaged in the good cause of providing for the orphans. For a period of two years and more, the officers were in the habit of holding semi-monthly meetings at my residence; and for the honor of all concerned, and not less the credit due to the lady participants of the First Church, I am happy to bear my humble testimony to the zeal and fidelity with which their oversight of the Asylum and its interests was maintained.

The Summer of 1851 witnessed, not only in San Francisco, but also in the interior towns, an appalling outbreak of violence and crime. The lesson of the punishment of “The Hounds” of 1849, was either unheeded or unknown. The latter was more probably the fact; for a new element of disorder and vice had entered the country subsequent to those scenes of outlawry and their punishment.

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With pleasure, I note the accession to the population of the country of very many estimable people, from '49 onwards, from “the colonies” of Australia. But from the same regions came also many of the worst specimens of ignorant and debased men and women ever witnessed within the pale of civilized society. This class, with all its varieties, had been subjects of the strong penal administration of the British government. In San Francisco, they were congregated in that portion of the city known as Sydney Valley. They were ex-convicts and ticket-of-leave persons, and as a moral pestilence their advent was an unwelcome infliction upon our community. From Sydney newspapers, kindly sent to me by the Rev. Dr. Lang, and others put in my hands by friends in San Francisco, in making the rounds of my visitations, I was able to identify, by name, instances of the ticket-of-leave class; and could not be mistaken as to the precedents of many, by report, beyond the sphere of my own observation. And more, the evil embodied in that class did not cease with their own generation. That evil parentage transmitted its kind to an evil descent—a prolific source of an

evil brood—from which, as I have been informed, and as I believe, in large part, the outcome is witnessed at the present day in the genus *hoodlum*.

Referring to the ex-convict classes of 1849 and 116 1850, the history of many of their number has contributed to make a dark chapter of criminal records and statistics, which have rendered the times of the Vigilance Committee of 1851 memorable. As in the case of “The Hounds,” the outrages of the Sydneyites had a gradual development, which more and more increased in boldness and extent. Daring in design and reckless as to measures, they became a terror in the community. Burglary and murder were their crimes. The slungshot and firearms were their weapons, and the darkness of night was the cover sought for their villainous deeds. The authorities being powerless or indifferent in the circumstances, an indignant body, composed of the best class of citizens, formed a secret organization on the 8th of June, 1851, determined to rid the community of the base miscreants. The arrest of John Jenkins, a notorious criminal, quickly followed, and on the early morning of the 10th of June, he was hanged from a projecting beam of the Custom House on the Plaza. On the afternoon of the 11th of July, James Stuart, after a confession of his many crimes, was executed on Market Street Wharf, in the sight of a large concourse of people. At Sacramento and other interior towns, the example of San Francisco was followed, in popular measures for the punishment and suppression of high crimes. Two more executions took place at 117 the hands of the San Francisco Vigilance Committee. The notorious burglars, Whittaker and McKenzie, were arrested and taken in charge by the Vigilance Committee. By an adroit action, they were wrested from the committee by the Sheriff of the city and lodged in the Broadway jail.

It was my habit, in the Summer of 1851, to hold a religious service at 3 P.M. on Sundays at the jail. On Sunday, the 24th of August, as usual, I was at the jail, accompanied by Police Judge Waller and other friends, as also, for this once, by my young son and daughter. Upon entering the jail, unexpectedly I met five or six other visitors in the office, gentlemen of my acquaintance, who, in order, as I suppose, to remove any occasion of surprise and excuse their presence, remarked to me that they felt an interest in observing the faces of prisoners. Unsuspecting any risk, the prisoners were released from the cells and seated, for the service, upon benches, in the court, enclosed by a plank fence. After singing, while I was offering prayer, a gentle tap from the outside

upon the door of the court was responded to by one of the guards, that no admittance was allowed during the service. But the door being ajar and opening inwards, a pressure from without made way for the immediate rush of a number of persons, who at once, led by those 118 who had been inside to watch and mark their victims, seized the two men, and in a moment, in the midst of great excitement, hurried them outside, placed them in a close carriage, and at a fearfully rapid rate, they were driven to the Committee Rooms on Battery street. There, from projecting beams, without any delay, the two men were hanged. These were the last of four executions at the hands of the San Francisco Vigilance Committee. Other criminals who fell under its power were banished by the committee from the country, and many more dangerous characters, alarmed by the summary proceedings against their class, prudently exiled themselves. Deeply as the measures of the committee may have been regretted, in the view of their extraordinary character, their salutary effect was for a long time visible.

In the early part of 1851, the occupied business portion of the city was all on the north side of California street. Residences, also, excepting a few scattered instances, were confined within the same district. It is an indication of this state of things, that when, in the Spring of '51, I purchased a building lot, and erected a dwelling for myself, on the north side of California, above Dupont street, an Elder of my church said to me, "If you go so far away I will visit you as often as I can, but cannot promise often to do so."

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No feature of the early times of California history is more marked than the every-varying conditions which entered into the common experience. Not less checkered was the history of our church affairs in the memorable year of 1851. That year opened with brightest prospects, as we were preparing to occupy our beautiful church edifice. The unwonted prosperity attained during the five months of its existence—on some accounts eminently successful period—constitutes a portion of the history of the First Church peculiarly pleasant to remember. Then came the sudden reverse caused by the destruction of the church in the disastrous fire of the 22d of June. The pecuniary loss to the congregation as a body was severe. Much heavier losses of property fell upon individual members of the Church. The business houses and dwellings, with their valuable contents, of many

of our people were consumed. Removals to other portions of the city—a special incidental benefit to its southern portion—was another of its results. It was also a serious drawback to us, that no hall or room survived the sweeping fire of sufficient size to contain our congregation. The best accommodations possible were found in the temporary Superior Court Room, previously the dining room of the St. Francis Hotel. Very distinct and grateful impressions remain with me of the constancy shown by the officers and members of our Church during this trying period. At that time the United States ship *St. Mary's* was lying in the harbor, and her Christian commander, Captain Hudson, was one of the most regular of attendants upon our religious services. Mr. O. D. Squire was the faithful leader of our singing. And there was still another, who then, as ever, gave us encouragement by his heartiness and helpful aid, F. H. Wells, Esq., still held in highest esteem in the list of friends. There our Church services and Sunday School were held until the rebuilt church was ready for our use.

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CHAPTER XI.

Christian Work among the Chinese—The Rev. Messrs. W. G. Canders, Robert McCoy, and Joshua Butts—Welsh Church of San Francisco—Founding of the Presbyterian Chinese Mission—Sunday School Third Anniversary—Church of Santa Clara—Synod of the Pacific.

A new department was added to the list of causes in which the First Presbyterian Church was embarked, in supplementary foreign missionary work among the Chinese. From the date of the first public gathering of Chinamen in our city, on the 20th of August, 1850, under the auspices of a committee, consisting of Mr. Frederick A. Woodworth, the acting Chinese Consul, and Mayor John W. Geary, and myself, for the distribution among them of Chinese books and tracts, religious and secular, both the pastor and members of the First Church were accustomed to take an active interest in the welfare of these people. We were in the habit from time to time of visiting the resorts of the Chinese, distributing the Chinese publications which had been forwarded to us by our friends in China. In such service we met, in general, a cordial reception. Our gifts were rarely declined. Only one instance, indeed, do I recall, in which either opposition or indifference even was encountered,

and 122 in that case logical consistency was maintained, which held the shrewd recusant firm in his rejection of the proffer made of a portion of the New Testament. In September, 1851, Mr. Buel, Bible agent, and myself, made the rounds, one evening, of the Chinese quarter in Sacramento street. In a Chinese gambling place, among some twenty persons, a young Chinaman gave us the exceptional rebuff, with the reply, "No good." We said, "It is good." "Good for you," he answered, "bad for me." On our further adding, "Good for us, good for you," he ended the colloquy by saying, very politely in manner, "No good, no bad; no bad, no good."

Of the number of Chinese then in the city, were some who had been instructed in Mission Schools in their own country. The first Christian Chinaman I met with was Achick, who had been about three years in the Morrison School, Macao, under the charge of my friend, the Rev. Samuel R. Brown, and two years more in the school of Bishop Smith of Hong Kong, by whom he was baptized. The intelligent answers of this young man to questions regarding Christian doctrines were peculiarly gratifying. Frequently he and others of his acquaintance came to see me in my residence. The next step in this interest was the formation of a Bible Class connected with our Sunday School, originally composed of Achick 123 and his three companions, afterwards considerably increased, and taught by Mr. Thomas C. Hambly, one of the ruling Elders of the Church. This movement, undertaken in the Winter of 1851-2, was initiatory to the establishment of the Presbyterian Chinese Mission of San Francisco.

The Rev. Wm. G. Canders, of Tennessee, was added to the number of Old School Presbyterian ministers in 1850.

In the expectation of further increase soon to our number, in January, 1852, I wrote to the *Presbyterian* newspaper, stating the possibility of our having, in connection with our ministerial force in Oregon, a Synod of the Pacific. The Synod of the Pacific was constituted by the General Assembly of 1852. At the same time, I pressed "rather the want of more ministers, according to former entreaties."

On the 14th of April, 1852, the Rev. Robert McCoy of Tennessee, and the Rev. Joshua Butts of New York, were landed from the steamer *Northener* in San Francisco. The day following their arrival, I communicated the fact to the *Presbyterian*, together with the following remarks: “A wide field is open before these brethren. Their places of settlement and labor will be soon, I trust, determined; and still there will remain many inviting locations for others, who I hope will speedily follow them.

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“We are strangely impressed with the apparent slowness of heart in your region, to believe the reports which we have sent forward to you of the spiritual wants of this land. At this date of the history of our State, its geographical and social character, we think, must be pretty well understood. Whatever opinion may be held upon the propriety of the emigration of business men hither, it must seem there should be no question as to the loud and earnest call for the exercise of the true missionary spirit, in bringing to these shores the blessed influences of the gospel of Christ.

“In regard to the number of our own citizens expected to arrive the present season, we seem not likely to be disappointed. Many, we know, will come, expecting to remain only a year or two at the farthest. But the result will be similar to that which belongs to the history of the past. Men change their minds sometimes; and in this case especially with good reason. Indeed, it has come to be a matter of so frequent occurrence, that we hardly heed the declaration, made by those who leave us, after a brief sojourn here, of an intention never to return again. A few months only pass away, and their faces are seen again among us. But even granting that the population of California is and for a while may be transient, as to individuals, in the aggregate it is permanent 125 and increasing. Hence the basis of our claims upon the missionary zeal and efforts of the Church. Who will care for the souls of these thousands?”

The constant growth of San Francisco made an ever-widening scope for my own labors. In its earlier and later periods, both the pastor and members of the First Church were ready to wellcome to a share in the responsibilities of their arduous field coöperative undertakings. This spirit of

unselfish zeal was not confined to the recesses of the heart, but showed itself, as the further history of pioneer career proves, in corresponding action when the opportunity came.

The beginning of the Welsh Presbyterian Church of San Francisco was in the Summer of 1852, and under the auspices of the First Church. The Rev. William Williams, a Welsh minister, had arrived in the city. There were in the First Church several Welsh members, and these and others in the city, cherishing their traditional attachment to the language and religious forms of their ancestors, proposed to organize a Welsh Presbyterian Church, under the ministry of the newly arrived Welsh minister. This measure being submitted to the consideration of our Church Session, a cordial approval was given to it. First, a room was hired as a place of worship on Dupont street. There, whenever convenient, I met with, and, in English, assisted in their religious services. Funds 126 were contributed, and at length, in the Summer of 1854, a church building was erected for their use. At the dedication services, it was my privilege to preach the customary sermon. With some interruptions to the continuity of its public services, this church organization is still in existence, and exercising a happy influence in the community.

The interest which the Church early manifested in the spiritual welfare of the Chinese was continued. The Bible Class which had been formed for their instruction was not regarded as sufficient. A more extended scheme was called for, and also a more ready and effective appliance of instruction, through the instrumentality of a religious teacher skilled in the Chinese language. Thus were we prompted, in the Session of the Church, to open a correspondence with our Board of Foreign Missions in New York, and propose an extension of their Chinese Mission by establishing a branch in San Francisco. The proposal was promptly acted upon and adopted, and we were duly informed by the respected Corresponding Secretary of the Board, the Hon. Walter Lowrie, that the plan would be carried into effect. A returned Missionary from China, the Rev. William Speer, was commissioned to take the charge of this Mission work. In October, 1852, Mr. Speer arrived. His own account of 127 his reception was communicated to an eastern newspaper, the *Presbyterian Advocate*, as follows: "The missionary work among the Chinese has proved very interesting thus far. I have been very cordially received by this people. Many of our Mission scholars from Canton, Hong Kong, and Macao, and merchants, and others that I knew, are here engaged in trade or

mining. I have not yet opened a chapel, but am engaged in visiting their sick, distributing tracts, and preparing the way for future active labors amongst them. The Chinese language comes back to me much more easily than I had expected. Much sympathy is expressed in the work by our Christian friends here.”

A temporary chapel was soon after provided and fitted up in an “upper room” on Sacramento street. Stated religious services and a Sunday School were there maintained. A benevolent lady of the First Church having volunteered to teach in the Sunday School, Mr. Speer came to me saying he felt embarrassed, in the view of the prejudice of the Chinese against “the sex,” about accepting this offer. Yet he did accept it, and the experiment was only favorable. Long since that kind of prejudice here came to an end; and more, I believe female teachers have the preference now among the Chinese.

Next in order in the history of this Mission 128 came the organization of the Presbyterian Chinese Mission Church, which was effected on Sunday afternoon, November 6th, 1853, in the First Church, and in the presence of a large and deeply interested assembly. The attendance of Chinese on this occasion was also numerous. It was my privilege to address the small Christian band of eleven, the Rev. Mr. Speer my interpreter, and receive their solemn vow, “With the help of God, I do;” and also, in the case of Lai Sam, ordained the ruling elder, the same sacred promise, with its added responsibilities.

In this connection, it may be also noted, that as the need of a permanent Mission House, with a chapel, was pressing, steps followed which, by the earnest and liberal agency of the First Church, with assistance of friends of the Mission belonging to other communions, resulted in the erection of the commodious Mission building on the corner of Stockton and Sacramento streets, completed and occupied at the close of 1853. A balance of unsettled obligations remaining was met by the generous donation of a liberal member of the Board in New York, and the title of the entire property was conveyed to the Board of Foreign Missions.

The history of this useful Mission among the Chinese, not only of San Francisco but also throughout all the Pacific Coast, is alike 129 interesting and honorable to the Church which originally led, and chiefly contributed to its establishment. More I might add to the record of its well-doing in this behalf; less would be chargeable as an ungrateful omission.

The activity of the First Church, which could not at any time be said to have been intermitted, showed itself palpably in good works and results, after we had become fairly settled in the rebuilt church. Specially interesting was our large Sunday School—large for the times. On the occasion of the third anniversary of the school, I addressed to each scholar a printed circular letter as a token of the design and hope of the school.

MY DEAR CHILDREN:

Just as if I were speaking to you, I now write a short letter, to be printed for you, that you may keep and often read it.

I have been glad to notice how well you have attended upon the Sunday School. It must be, therefore, that from your teachers, the superintendent, and myself as well, as I have occasionally addressed you, you have received much religious instruction. You can now remember, doubtless, a great deal of scripture truth which you have learned from your teachers and bible lessons, and other useful knowledge from your Sunday School library books. I trust, therefore, you feel it has been a great privilege to be in the Sunday School.

What I write to you all, my dear children, I address to each one of you particularly. I wish you often to think of the reason why you are in the Sunday School. It is that you may learn to love and obey the Savior, who himself 130 loves little children, and is ever ready to bless them. And what you have often been told I repeat, hoping as you read it in this letter, you will the better remember it: That now is the time, while you are young, to learn the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make you wise unto salvation; and now also is the time to commit to memory the Shorter Catechism, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostle's Creed. And do not omit, my children, the duty

of daily morning and evening prayer, and asking God to give you what you pray for in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

It is a great mercy that none of your number has been called away by death during the past year. Yet, my children, you should remember, you may at any time sicken and die. Then strive to be ready at all times for death. Many little children have died loving their Savior, and they are now with him in glory. If you should die young, may the same happy end be yours. Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, repenting of and forsaking your sins, and you shall be saved. I earnestly hope you will, every one, practice what you here learn, and, as your lives shall be spared, love the Savior and keep his commandments, so that when, sooner or later, you shall die, you may all be taken up to heaven.

Your Affectionate Friend,

THE PASTOR.

Third Anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church Sunday School, 1852.

The general prosperity of the congregation, after the temporary trial and depression caused by the burning of our first church edifice, revived and was manifest, as before in the time preparatory to and during the occupancy of our first church building. Though outwardly not ornate, as the first was, within were tokens of the Divine favor, in large assemblages and profitable religious services. The spiritual fruits appeared in a larger addition to the enrolled communicants of the church, in 1852, than during any previous year. Still my health and strength, equal to the demands upon me, were continued, and, grateful for these blessings, I was never more happy in responding to my many, many calls of duty.

At the request of a few Presbyterian families residing in Santa Clara and its vicinity, I visited the region and organized a society under the title of the Presbyterian Church of Camden, (since changed to Santa Clara,) so called after the name of the former residence of a part of the members in the State of Missouri. Soon after the organization, the Rev. Robert McCoy, of Tennessee, became the minister of the church.

An important advance in ecclesiastical organization was effected by the action of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in session in Charleston, South Carolina, May 22d, 1852, in passing an order for the formation of the Synod of the Pacific. The Presbytery of California was detached from the Synod of New York, and divided by setting off a portion under the name of the Presbytery of Stockton. The Presbytery of Oregon was associated with these two, and thus the new Synod was constituted. By appointment also of the General Assembly, the first session of 132 the Synod was held in the First Presbyterian Church, San Francisco, and was opened with a sermon by myself, from 1 Timothy, III., 15: "The church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth."

The annual meetings of the Synod continued to be held during my pastorate in 1853 and 1854, in the same church, and notwithstanding the distance and expense involved, by a special effort, I was able to secure a representation from the Presbytery of Oregon, and thus complete a quorum. The vastness of the field of the Synod, in connection with the comparatively small number of its ministers, was suggestive of the great need of more laborers, and of special earnestness and fidelity on the part of the few whose lot was cast in circumstances so commanding.

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CHAPTER XII.

Period of Excitements over Land Titles—Rainy Season of 1852-53—Flour Monopoly—Marriage Incidents—The Scotch.

In all the period embraced in the present review, the excitements of the community upon special disturbing questions were many and great. Sensational surprises and embarrassments marked distinctively the early times. A rapidly increasing population, new social elements, greed, ambition, and competition, all the new lines of enterprise and adventure, and, not least, monopoly, with all the resulting conflicts, may be well supposed to have been, and indeed were, antagonistic to good order, quiet, and established system, not to say also hindrances to the more vital interests of morality and religion. More or less, all social elements were in a state of agitation prior to repose. Rest, all-

pervading and complete, was the exception; unrest the rule. A month or even a week free from excitements was a novelty. Thus was our city distinguished by a periodicity of disturbing events.

After the District Assembly of San Francisco had been dissolved by Governor Riley, came another rival power to that of the Alcalde, the 134 Colton Judgeship, with its new distribution of land grants; following this, the “Peter Smith Judgment” and large sale of city property; and the Santillan land claim, for which the subsidized agency of my quondam acquaintance of the Mission Dolores was employed, and soon after the fact, the simple-minded *Padre* sought a home in Mexico; and then the Limantour land claim, which attempted to overthrow a large portion of the possessory titles of the city, a claim which likewise kept the city in suspense, and involved earnest work in defeating it, a result largely due to the efficient service of Mr. E. F. Northam, in collecting adverse evidence, but not settled until many thousands of dollars had been paid, in compromise, to an attorney representing the claim.

The scenes of agitation and conflict enacted in connection with questions of city land titles in Alcalde grants and onward, if fully described, might fill a volume. Into the particulars or merits even of these questions, it is not in place here to enter. As facts of history only are they referred to at present. There were times in which it was felt, there was no absolute certainty in any of the city land titles. As I once heard the eloquent Gregory Yale, Esq., to whom I was ever pleased to listen, in a legal argument, remark, “There is here no spot of ground whose title is not clouded, as no summer day is without its 135 clouds.” Mr. W. S. Clark once said to me, and this was long before his adversaries had ceased fighting his titles, that he had spent over two hundred thousand dollars for defence in Court expenses. The question of the “Peter Smith” case involved not alone the indebtedness of the city for hospital dues, but also the serious loss of a valuable domain. Right or wrong—I suppose it was right—it appeared to me at the time plainly the interest of the city to pay the amount of Dr. Smith's claim. My convictions on the subject I endeavored to impress upon one of the members of the Common Council, insisting upon the wisdom of such a policy of liquidating the judgment in the case, (some sixty thousand dollars, I think,) and save the valuable property at the time in jeopardy. The final reply of the gentleman was, “It is better that the city should own no property.” The day of sale arrived. It had been industriously urged that the judgment of the Court

was invalid. Bids were made in hesitation and doubt, and property was sacrificed, in its prospective value, sufficient to constitute a princely municipal endowment.

Other agitating questions arose in connection with City Slip and Water Lot Sales, and Extensions of the City Front, which invoked legislative action and the authority of courts. Street grades were ever subject to change, inasmuch as they 136 were made in sections, and not with reference to a general system. The “Hoadley Grades” were the first established upon the basis of a comprehensive plan, and even these, the best ever made, must needs be altered to subserve the interests of property holders. Change of grades, indeed, was so frequent, especially in the lower portions of the city, that the very term became a by-word. Upon one occasion the subject gave cause for a witticism. A derrick was raised on Montgomery street, for some purpose not easily comprehended, which, as a matter of course, attracted the attention of passers-by. While one and another gave expression to conjecture, a waggish person solved the question by, “I guess it is to raise the grade of Montgomery street.” When the city authorities passed an ordinance for the opening of Merchant street, from Portsmouth Square to the water front, an indignant objector said, “With twenty-five thousand dollars I can get any block in the city diagonally divided.” Thus the good and the bad were alike subject to criticism.

Annoying as were the troubles in land questions when confined to the sphere of legal gentlemen, courts, and entailed expenses, this was not all. Scenes of violence and tragic consequences, sometimes, colored these disputes. A dark chapter of incidents in which a resort to 137 arms was had, might be written. When private rights, or claimed rights, were invaded, and under the cover of darkness, upon untenanted lands an enclosure was made and a shanty erected, the intrusion provoked often a violent assault, with force of arms and fatal result. Happily, the milder measures of reason and law were the prevailing methods of determining the knotty questions of land titles.

The Winter of 1852-53 was made memorable by its extreme storms and heavy rains—a repetition of the rainy season of 1849-50, with additional trying experiences. In San Francisco, again the streets more resembled quagmires than proper thoroughfares. The inconveniences suffered were indescribably great. In the State generally, the season was attended with similar and, in some

respects, more trying scenes. Rivers overflowed their banks, towns were flooded, Sacramento was again inundated, an infliction the more disastrous because the town had just previously been almost wholly destroyed by fire. Communication between interior towns was interrupted, and in some cases rendered utterly impracticable. Miners in their isolated camps were reduced to the point of starvation. In the higher altitudes of the Sierra, snow-shoes and packing upon the shoulders of men were resorted to. As a consequence of these untoward conditions, high prices of all 138 articles demanded for consumption and use ruled extravagantly high in all the interior, and especially in the upper mining regions. Besides, the Winter of 1852-53 was marked by a systematic, strongly supported monopoly in the flour market, by which the ruling rate of that needed article rose in San Francisco to fifty dollars per barrel—an enhancement oppressively felt both at the centre of the oppression and throughout the country. Such were the anxieties involved in this attempt—successful for several months—to control the market, that a member of the association told me, although he had realized hundreds of thousands in the scheme, he could not be induced to subject himself again to such a strain. At this time, in the more isolated portions of the State, the current price of all the ordinary articles of food, such as flour, rice, coffee, and sugar, commanded two dollars per pound. As an incident of the times, it is remembered that the Chinese laborers in our city, employed in erecting the granite building on the northwest corner of Montgomery and California streets, having acquired a taste for “Melican” bread, insisted upon being supplied with that article, instead of their common diet of rice, a full supply of which for their consumption had been provided.

If my pastorate had been thus far a busy scene of activity, it was not less, but more so, after the 139 era of special “events” in California history had passed away. The later period of the pastorate was marked by a more uniform routine character of recurring duties. Yet, with the growth of the parish and a constant increase of surrounding population, demands of service were in a corresponding degree multiplied. The exposures in outdoor engagements amid the rains of 1852-53, so similar to the rainy season of 1849-50, were an additional draft and burden upon physical endurance. In that trying period, my health began again to give way, not strangely unequal to the exhaustive power of both exposure and labor. Here was the beginning of that loss of nervous energy which,

notwithstanding all medical appliances, resulted in a state of extreme physical prostration. The experiences of this illness, from which an ultimate recovery, by a long continued rest and change of scene, was attained, less interesting to the reader than myself, I need not relate.

Of the pressing character of the multitude of professional services, which duty called me to perform, a most vivid impression remains. Here and there, in season and out of season, by day and by night, time and services were sought for and given. Some of those services, not strictly in the line of my profession, I might have been excused from performing, such, for example, as seeking and obtaining situations for persons who were alike destitute of employment and means. I would not advise my brethren of the ministry to take upon themselves, as a rule, such a supplement to their sacred vocation, though for them and myself, I confess, the motive for the action is very strong, if not irresistible, when appeals especially urgent are addressed to us. It is due, however, to add that, besides my extended acquaintance with citizens of standing and influence, which lessened the degree of efforts necessary in individual instances, the universal disposition was shown to favorably respond to my applications; and this, I have reason for believing, sometimes, when places not existing were made in order to afford needed relief. From first to last, such was the noble generosity, in the wide sphere of my acquaintance and intercourse, of the business men of San Francisco. To name them, on account of their number, were impossible; to select from that large number for special notice and illustration, might seem invidious.

With an almost exclusive male population at the first, the character of that population was distinguished generally by a high order of intelligence and worth. Exceptions there were, a fact not surprising, when it is considered that the prospect and hope of gain, appealing to all classes alike, gave impetus to the rushing tide of 141 immigration. The persons and classes with whom it was my happy lot to become associated, fresh from the culture of their eastern homes, were fit to found and adorn a State. These were mostly in the prime of manhood. There were few, very few gray hairs then seen. Such an assemblage of educated, active, strong men, rarely brought together in any land, it was a pleasure to look upon, as it was my own privilege weekly, in the congregation gathered before me and justly prompting admiration.

But the disproportion of males and females was, year by year, changed. The married men who came to the country alone, having determined to make their permanent residence in California, either returned or sent to their former homes for their families. Thus was our general society, and in particular the First Presbyterian Church society, made more and more to assume the wonted aspect of civilized life, in the welcome presence of pioneer mothers and daughters. Nor were the youthful unmarried men behind their seniors in a desire to improve their own condition and that of their chosen new home. They, too, either returned or sent for the gentle ones, their selected brides. Often I was called upon to perform the marriage ceremony on board a newly arrived steamer, or from the steamer at my own residence. A gentleman, in view of the fact that 142 ladies were so soon taken possession of, while he was left to pine in his solitariness, proposed to “anticipate his rivals by boarding an incoming steamer outside the Heads.” It was my privilege in four years of the pastorate, 1851-54, to marry one hundred and fifty couples, an agreeable service which clergymen are generally prompt to perform. The number of my marriages in 1849-50 was proportionally less, *ex necessitate rei*. It was largest at the close of my pastorate. In a few instances, parties desiring to enter into the marriage relation were not so fortunate as to command an official solemnization of the ceremony. A case of this character was published in the papers of the day, to wit: that at Rush Creek, Butte county, in 1853, “a marriage extraordinary” took place. Neither a magistrate nor clergyman was available in the exigency. But not to be frustrated, in the presence of a company of more than one hundred persons, with the accompaniment of a band of music, the marriage contract was entered into as follows:

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,

County of Butte, ss.

THIS AGREEMENT, made and entered into by and between Robert Ross and Christiana Deitch—
To all whom it may concern: Know ye, that we have, this twenty-seventh day of June, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and fifty-three, taken each other as husband, wife, and hereby 143

acknowledge the same binding in law and equity. In testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and affixed our seals, on the day first above written.

Done in the presence of witnesses.

ROBERT ROSS, [Seal]

CHRISTIANA DEITCH, [Seal]

More fortunate were our San Franciscans, seeking matrimony, in having at hand a clergyman or magistrate. A point, this, of some importance, when delay would have involved impatience. As when, on a certain occasion, a Scotch friend called upon me with his countryman, a shipmaster, in middle life or more, for whose marriage he desired to engage my services. In the course of the ensuing conversation, and in order to bring the negotiation to a definite form, I asked the candidate the question, “When do you propose”—referring to the ceremony; the would-be happy Captain interrupting, evidently mistaking my *do* for *did*, while I was the innocent cause of betraying him into his confession, with a most becoming, modest, and almost blushing frankness, replied, “Two or three days ago.” My intercourse, I am here led to remark, with my numerous Scotch parishioners was fraught with many a pleasant incident, while on their part it was a custom to appropriate to my parochial charge the title of “The Scotch Church.”

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CHAPTER XIII.

Increase of Church Officers—Church Organ—Young Men's Christian Association of San Francisco—Yankee Enterprise—New Church Edifice Proposed—Privileges of Travel—Commodore John D. Sloat—Captain Patterson, the Cholera, Lieutenant Derby—Mission Church—Resignation—Organization of Calvary Church—Religious Influences Appreciated.

In 1853, a culminating progress was visible in the numbers and strength of the First Church, and in its *personnel*, likewise, including persons of influence—the occasion and means afforded for

multiplying the number of its official representatives, and thus augmenting its working force. On the 6th of April, 1851, Mr. Nathaniel Gray was ordained and installed a Ruling Elder of the Church, and at the same time Messrs. J. B. Roberts and G. I. N. Monell were constituted Deacons. This diaconate was opportune for the administration of the Relief Fund of the Church, as occasion demanded, in aid of the sick and unfortunate of the parish. Again, on the 26th of January, 1852, the Church Session was increased by the installation of Judge Royal H. Waller, and Messrs. Thomas Hopkins and Thomas C. Hambly; and to the Board of Deacons, Mr. E. R. Hawley was added. Increased efficiency was, by these appointments, imparted to the systematic, 145 benevolent measures of the Church. The foundation of a Missionary Fund was laid, on the first Sunday of 1852, when, at the evening church service, fifty dollars were contributed for the object; and, thereafter, monthly offerings were made in continuance of the scheme. From the avails of this Fund, the Session was enabled, from time to time, to make appropriations in aid of church work outside of our own limits, yet confined to California. Among those appropriations was one of one hundred dollars, in aid of the erection of the Welsh Presbyterian Church edifice in San Francisco. Thus equipped with active leaders, and liberally supplied with pecuniary means, the beneficent efforts of our Church maintained a steady progress, and were attended with gratifying results.

The music of the First Church was improved, in 1852, by the substitution of a pipe for a reed organ, which until then had been used. I was informed by the organist, Mr. Pettinos, that an Erben organ was offered for sale in the city, Mr. P. at the same time expressing a wish that it might be secured for our Church, and offering himself fifty dollars towards the purchase. I bought the instrument for a reasonable sum—eleven hundred dollars—and obtained the assent of the Trustees of the Church for the making of alterations in the building for its accommodation, 146 at an additional expense of one hundred and thirty dollars. About half of the aggregate expense was reimbursed to me by voluntary gifts of individual members of the congregation.

It was my privilege to be one of the founders of the Young Men's Christian Association of San Francisco. This cause, ever since I heard in New York, in 1832, the strong advocacy of a Scotch lay-brother in its behalf, had retained an abiding interest in my mind. In view of the need of such an instrumentality, especially in San Francisco, I was prompt to give to the proposal of organization

a special attention. The meeting with this object in view was held in the First Presbyterian Church, and the draft of a Constitution was made by myself. At that meeting, July 18, 1853, the Young Men's Christian Association of San Francisco was formally instituted.

In the present connection, it is not to be overlooked that this season of religious progress in our sphere as a Church was synchronous with a period of specially marked prosperity in our city and State at large. The paramount enterprise of mining was at the time eminently successful. Real estate commanded enhanced prices. Rapid and great strides were made in improvements. To some of my English acquaintances the activity and stretch of Yankee enterprise was simply wonderful. Riding one day with an English party ¹⁴⁷ over the Mission Plank Road— *gratis* then, because we were part of a funeral procession on the way to Yerba Buena Cemetery, but at other times subject, as with my one-horse rockaway, to a tollrate of a half dollar for the privilege—referring to the telegraph line stretched along the side of the road, and then reaching to San José, one English gentleman asked another, “How long do you think it would be before John Bull would construct such a line?” and was answered, “I think about twenty years.” This plank road was built, as also the first wharves of the city, when lumber commanded the astounding price of three hundred dollars or more per thousand feet. The gold product at the time was abundant, and circulated freely. Large remittances, too, were made abroad through established agencies, and I remember being informed by a commander of one of the Pacific Mail Company's steamers, that having made careful inquiries, on his voyages to Panama, he was certain returning Californians bore away with them an average to each of three thousand dollars.

It may not be thought specially meritorious to be generous in gifts of money when it is abundant; but it is noteworthy that in such circumstances, and should be remembered to the credit of the times, the Church and its peculiar cause and work were not neglected. At that time, and ¹⁴⁸ in its existing conditions, it seemed to me any really good and commendable object could be accomplished. So I thought and felt with reference to a needed new church edifice for the First Church, and it is my pleasure to add, when, in the Winter of 1853-54, it was proposed to carry the matter into effect, a prompt and hearty favorable response from leading persons in the congregation was given. The crowded state of our edifice made such an undertaking a demand; the financial ability of the

congregation made it a possibility. So the scheme became a subject of general interest in the parish. Plans of procedure were suggested. The question of a new and larger church site for a new and larger church edifice was mooted, these and all the points involved were reviewed, and all under the conviction of the necessity for the movement and with the expectation that the object in view could and would be attained. This work, however, for special reasons, was postponed to a later but not distant day.

My personal cares and burdens found occasional relief in the enjoyment of privileges of short trips and journeys, in the making of which it is, as well, my pleasure to acknowledge the great kindness shown to me by obliging, generous friends. Doubtless, to other clergymen similar favors were extended. I can never forget the 149 hearty hospitality of the owners and commanders of the lines of steamers plying upon our inland waters—Messrs. Charles Minturn, Thomas Hunt, and Lieutenants Maynard and Blair, owners, with the brothers Van Pelt and Wood Hutchins, commanders. It seemed to be regarded by the gentlemen named as a personal favor to themselves to accept their standing, and occasionally special invitations to feel at home on board their boats. And this kindness was the more appreciated and availed of, when in declining health I had need of all the recreation possible. So, in the later period of my pastorate, it was a relief and benefit, at the close of day, to step on board a bay and river steamer, and proceeding as far as Benicia, there meet a returning boat, which landed me in the early evening in San Francisco.

In a passage to Benicia, in May, 1852, on board the steamship *Golden Gate*, I had the honor of the company of the veteran naval chief, Commodore John Drake Sloat, and received from him the account of his grand exploit, with his flag-ship *Savannah*, in the race with Admiral Sir George F. Seymour of the *Collingwood*, and the great event of his hoisting the United States flag in Monterey, which I have retained for use in my history of the “Conquest of California.” And other excursions, shorter and longer, I made; two of remembered interest among the mining towns.

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At the close of 1853, by the invitation of Captain W. H. Dall, of the mail steamer *Columbia*, I joined a company of gentlemen on board that ship, known as the Company's Yacht, ordered

on a cruise in search of the delayed steamer *Golden Gate*. In this voyage we looked into all the harbors southward from Monterey to San Diego, and at this place found the vessel in a disabled condition. Among the passengers of the *Golden Gate* was the recently appointed Missionary Bishop of California, the Rev. Dr. W. Ingraham Kip, who completed his voyage with us on board the *Columbia*. This trip was rendered specially agreeable by the sociability of our own select party in social gatherings and after-dinner conversations. If the wit and humor of our cheerful companions, J. P. Haven and Thomas G. Cary, had possessed the remedial efficacy of Lieutenant Derby's magic verbal entertainments, I ought to have been restored from all my bodily infirmities.

Referring to Lieutenant Derby, Captain C. P. Patterson was accustomed to relate how deep were his obligations to him for the part he performed among a large panic-stricken company of passengers during one of his voyages from Panama to San Francisco. Cholera had broken out in his ship. At an intermediate port, the Lieutenant took passage for the remainder of the voyage. "Never so glad in my life, Derby, to see you," was the welcome given, and next came a sumptuous lunch in the Captain's state-room. "And now you must give a talk to my terrified passengers." Seating himself upon a dining table, the Lieutenant soon gathered around him a crowd of listeners, who, by the remarkable power of diversion he possessed, were made to forget their danger and overcome the "symptoms." "So," said Captain P., "I kept him telling stories to the end of the voyage, and cholera and all fear of it disappeared from the ship." Lieutenant Derby said, he "never worked so hard in his life."

Again, in the Spring of 1854, the First Church took part in a new church enterprise in San Francisco. The Rev. James Woods having, on account of ill health, been obliged to leave Stockton, took up his residence in our city. And here he projected, and, under the auspices of the First Church, carried into effect, the establishment of a Mission Church. A lot was leased as a site for a chapel on the southwest corner of Geary and Mason streets, and a building, which still stands, was speedily erected and dedicated for the uses of divine worship. Under the supervising authority of our Session, a Board of Trustees for the Mission was appointed, also, consisting of members of the First Church. Although this enterprise was only temporarily sustained, having 152 been discontinued on

account of an unfavorable effect of San Francisco climate upon Mr. Woods' health, the effort was not in vain.

Another church enterprise, which has maintained a continuous and prosperous career, about the time now under review, had its origin in the bosom of the First Church. This was the organization of Calvary Presbyterian Church, San Francisco. The Session of the First Church was advised of the proposed measure and asked to give its approval, which was done; and also was requested to address an official letter, embodying this assent, to the Rev. W. A. Scott, D.D., of New Orleans, with whom a correspondence had been opened with reference to his removal to San Francisco, and becoming the minister of a new church, which request also was complied with. And, upon an intimation that a personal letter from me was desired on this subject, I wrote to Dr. Scott, assuring him of my acquiescence and cordiality in the plan of establishing another Presbyterian Church in our city. A visit of Dr. Scott to San Francisco, in the Summer of 1854, resulted in the organization of Calvary Presbyterian Church, on Sunday, July 23, 1854. Of the sixty-three original members of Calvary Church, nearly every one had been connected for a longer or shorter period with the First Church, either enrolled in its communion or enjoying its privileges. 153 And yet, though parting with so many of its influential members and so much substantial strength, the First Church retained a strong organization, with its characteristic force of vital energy, and still held its commanding position in the sisterhood of Protestant Churches.

A crisis in my incumbency of the pastorate, which was for months foreseen, at length arrived. Labors of such continuance and degree—a friend called them fourfold—with their imposed burdens, had issued in extreme bodily prostration. I had literally no relief from my pastoral routine, except for remedial effect, through the five and a half years of this engagement. Indisposition had become chronic. With most prudent care, I continued on my watchtower, and as I was able, met my various calls of duty. My own convictions and the judgment of friends, of the propriety of my seeking relaxation, were confirmed by the counsel of my esteemed friend and medical adviser, Dr. B. B. Coit.

It was a question in my mind whether my retirement should be temporary, or final by a dissolution of the pastoral relation. As to the former, an uncertainty as to the length of time which might be required for a renewal of health, if possible, seemed to render that alternative inexpedient. The latter course, though it involved the rending of ties of unusual interest, the rather 154 commended itself for my choice, not alone from family and personal considerations, but especially from a regard for the interests of my beloved Church, which might suffer loss on account of a protracted absence. Accordingly, after mature reflection, on the 1st of July, 1854, I addressed to the Session of the Church my letter of resignation, to be placed before the congregation, and to take effect after the fall meeting of Presbytery.

While it was my habit to give to my pulpit instructions a comprehensive scope, and keep back nothing which might be profitable, two points especially I ever sought to make prominent. The first was the importance of an intelligent conception of religious truth, in order that my hearers might be able to give a reason for the hope that was in them; and secondly, the importance of holding the religious principle, in holy scripture described “the mystery of faith,” in a pure conscience, assured that whoever does this will not be left to die in impenitence. I am persuaded that my brethren of the evangelical ministry, contemporary with me, in all fidelity held forth the great doctrines of divine truth, touching human accountability in the present life, and the issues of the future state.

Both the fact and practical bearing of early church influences in San Francisco, and, as well, in other portions of California, are matters of 155 interest not to be overlooked in the sum of leading characteristics of those times. Though some may affect to treat these things with indifference, nevertheless it is a truth that such influences exercised a potent sway in the heterogeneous communities which marked the early period of American settlement. Not only Christian ministers then present, but Christian laymen also, bringing with them religious principles and habits, and both associated in a common cause of holding up to view the sublime standard of religion, and coöperating in efforts to make it a rallying point and its obligations a paramount duty in individual and social life, were a real and confessed and appreciated power for good in the land. I well and gratefully remember that at my first arrival, the spiritual labors of the Rev. T. Dwight Hunt, during

the previous five months of his ministry in San Francisco, were spoken of as highly beneficial in the community. It is also a fact well known and acknowledged, that as other clergymen became united in the labors of their sacred vocation, and gathered communions of faithful men, and earnest Christian work was seen in the planting of churches and their affiliated institutions of sympathetic charity, the effects were most salutary in the conservation of the best interests, in order, morality, and government, of the body politic. For a summary exhibition of 156 leading facts in those early times, a paper of mine, for the reprint of which it may be said it is a fresh utterance of those time, is herewith presented, in the form in which it was adopted by the Presbytery of California in its session in Benicia, February 21, 1850.

RELIGIOUS CHARACTER AND CONDITION OF CALIFORNIA.

Narrative of the State of Religion within the Bounds of the Presbytery of California.

We are moving amid strange scenes. The outlines even which our imaginations had drawn of things expected, have been quite displaced by other impressions which experience has traced. We allude not here, in our position and circumstances, to the physical features of the country—its more than anticipated beauty and grandeur, and its more than anticipated supply of the conveniences of life and appliances of human enterprise—in regard to which a favorable change of opinion has occurred; but to the more gratifying views, on the whole, of its moral and religious condition, which, by a closer inspection and an actual experience, has lost much of its foreboded evil character.

First of all, as a Presbytery, it becomes us gratefully to acknowledge the gracious care, hitherto, of that merciful Providence which turned our faces, not without purpose and desire, 157 hitherward; and the sure guidance and protection of the same Providence in bringing three^{*} of our number safely to the field of our labors; and the signal favor by which we have been welcomed to our different places of service, with a cordiality both pleasant and encouraging, assuring us of a desire and demand alike, for the ministrations of the gospel.

A pioneer pastorate and times, embodying contemporary local transactions and events, by the Rev. Albert Williams, founder and first pastor of the First Presbyterian church, San Francisco <http://www.loc.gov/resource/calbk.138>

The Rev. Francis Hart, who was made by the General Assembly the *fourth* member of this new Presbytery, has not yet arrived in the country; and in respect to the cause of his absence there is not a little degree of painful suspense. The Rev. Wm. G. Canders, of the Presbytery of West Tennessee, engaged in preaching in Sonoma and Napa Valley, was present, and by invitation took his seat in the Presbytery as a corresponding member.

“The harvest is truly plenteous.” “The field is white also unto the harvest.” Many are the localities now unsupplied with gospel ordinances; and some in which though the permanent population is small, opportunities are offered for the dispensing of the word to vast multitudes in their transient movements to and fro. A happy compensation is thus possible for the untoward features of an unsettled and a migratory people. For if fewer persons are at any one time brought under the influence of the gospel ministry, yet within a given period, a much greater number than in ordinary cases, will be reached.

With caution and diffidence, we venture to give utterance to our opinion upon the question of 158 the moral and religious standard of California. We are constrained, however, in the view of facts as they have come under our observation, to declare our belief that the character of the professors of religion here, exhibits melancholy marks of deterioration. With whatever good intentions and resolutions all may have left their distant homes, both on their way hither and now here, many alas, have turned aside from the strictness of the gospel of Christ. Probably not more than one-half, to speak with qualification, of the professors of religion now in the country, voluntarily make themselves known as such; and of that moiety, very many manifest no special interest in the religious institutions and prosperity of the country; and consequently the burden of anxiety and toil in sustaining Christian enterprises is devolved upon a very few church members, coöperating with whom it is gratifying to state, in the temporal support of the gospel, are many estimable persons, who, though they make no profession of a religious character, are pleased thus to show their appreciation of these useful instrumentalities.

Yet much good is to be expected, through the efforts of those few alluded to, whom no allurements of gain or pleasure have turned aside from the simple purpose of their hearts, to subserve the interests of the reign and glory of Christ in 159 the earth. In the midst of most exciting scenes, and in actual contact with busy secular enterprises, they are enabled to hold on to their steadfastness, and retain the good reputation they had, in other places and associations, for fidelity in their

Master's cause and service. They disguise not their badge of Christian profession; they are not hindered in running well the Christian race; and in all the duties of a holy vocation, they exhibit pleasing examples of consistency and zeal. The presence and influence particularly of Christian ladies in our communities, known by the ornament of a sincere and exemplary piety, and coöperating, as it is their characteristic habit, in all pious and useful causes, we regard as one of the most gratifying traits of our religious character and condition.

But much is required to be done. The moral evils which cast their gloomy shade over the social masses, though by some their picture may have been overdrawn, are hardly liable to the hazard of exaggeration. We have no apology to offer for the vices which exist among us, and which, in their luxuriant increase, are brought forward with an astonishing rapidity; nor do we acknowledge any constraint upon our liberty, in all suitable times and methods, to lift up our voice against them. They exist; and under the circumstances of the case, they are not other than might be expected. They are the result of easily traced causes: the character of the motives which prompted the greater part of the immigration to this country; the classes of persons, as they are the most susceptible of these influences, who were first and most powerfully moved by them; the various national character and habits of the immigrants; the deficiency of customary external restraints upon evil propensities; and the corrupting power of evil examples. In the view of such a state of things, so portentous, as they also prove, prolific of evil, vice, and crime, though much to be deplored and not at all extenuated, are not unlooked for existences; and only that a special Providence, by means of vigorous and stringent judicial administration, and the very selfish regards existing, has interposed, might have been far more painfully prevalent.

These are the aspects of a land now attracting, and deservedly, the attention of a large portion of the world. Commerce and the various branches of human enterprise have, as by a divine hand, led the way, in this movement, to the Church. Here is a new scene of its progressive developments. In such circumstances, it is called to the great and responsible labor of localizing and diffusing the influence of the gospel. We have among us the elements and the foundation of a Christian State; and the germs of institutions and influences designed doubtless to contribute in an unparalleled

manner to the diffusion of the more liberal 161 principles and usages of free institutions, and the blessings of civilization and Christianity throughout the world.

But we are oppressed by a view of the magnitude of the responsibility devolved upon the Church, in the present state and progress of affairs. The interests of a most rapidly increasing population, and of such varied character, within the limits of California; and more, the interests of unnumbered multitudes upon the islands and both shores of the Pacific, with whom a frequent and an intimate intercourse is open, present a field of philanthropic and Christian enterprise such, we do not say as has never before been spread before the Church, but such as we fear the Church will neither duly appreciate nor adequately occupy. Let the laborers, who are few in this field, be increase; above all, let ceaseless prayer, in the view of the missionary aspects of this new course of colonization, be made in behalf of the kingdom of Christ; for, though checked by many disheartening causes, we do still “thank God, and take courage.” And we urge upon our beloved Zion and our fellow-Christians generally, the earnest and strong exhortation, “Let us go up at once and possess it, for we are well able to overcome it.”

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CHAPTER XIV.

Close of the Pastorate—Note to the Session, and Reply—Resolution of the Church, and Letter of the Trustees—Action and Resolutions of the Presbytery—Farewell Discourse.

Special ties of interest ever bind the relations between a Christian pastor and his spiritual charge. Intimate and sacred are their associations. Friendships and confidences and tenderest sympathies are the interchanges of their fellowship. If such are the marks of a pastorate, in general, it is easy to suppose, in peculiar conditions, it may partake of a heightened interest. Such is indeed the fact, when the parties are drawn and held together by mutual affinities; when common labors and trials are undergone; and when the same purposes and aspirations are the animating, inspiring motives of action. The pioneer pastorate, in five and a half years of mutual friendly intercourse—on account of thickly crowding events a seemingly prolonged period—with hopes and expectations sometimes

more than realized, and results gladsomely cheering to the heart—but not without an alloy of smitten joys, to impart a pensive coloring to scenes otherwise only happy—the pastor, in peculiar circumstances, “calling” his congregation, instead, in the 163 conventional sense, of being “called:” all these, and more, served to invest this pastoral relation with an enhanced import to all concerned.

The usual steps in dissolving a pastorate were formally taken in order. The several papers hereto annexed furnish the concluding history. These render further statements unnecessary. The sentiments breathed in them are all that heart could wish, and are cherished tributes to a relation and its offices, to which ever and anon I turn in grateful remembrance. Unwilling at the time of the dissolution to let the occasion pass without a special personal notice, in great bodily weakness, I prepared and delivered my brief fare-well sermon.

RESIGNATION.

TO THE RULING ELDERS OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF SAN FRANCISCO.

Beloved Brethren —As you are already aware, the impaired state of my health requires rest and cessation, for a season at least, from pastoral labors. Not knowing, in the view of these circumstances, how long an absence may be necessary, nor what changes of the future may occur, I think it best that my pastoral relation be dissolved, that both the congregation and myself may be left at liberty; and accordingly, I hereby signify my wish that the congregation may unite with me in requesting the Presbytery to which we belong to grant this my desire, and terminate the connection I now hold with the Church which you represent.

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With assurances of my best esteem and regards for yourselves personally, and many thanks for your uniform kindness in our pleasant official intercourse, and with a continued affectionate and prayerful interest in behalf of the Church over which we have jointly presided,

I remain ever yours, in Christian bonds,

ALBERT WILLIAMS.

SAN FRANCISCO, July 1st, 1854.

SAN FRANCISCO, July 4th, 1854.

REV. ALBERT WILLIAMS.

Dear Brother —We have received your letter of the 1st of July instant, signifying your desire, on account of impaired health, requiring rest and cessation, for a season at least, from pastoral labors, that the congregation over which you preside would unite with you in requesting the Presbytery to which we belong to terminate the pastoral connection you now hold.

We regret exceedingly that your health should render it necessary, and more especially at this particular juncture in the affairs of the Church, should compel you to retire from the labors and responsibilities which you have so long and ably discharged, in the origin and continuance of the first Protestant Church in this city.

But we have great comfort and satisfaction in looking back over the five years and upwards in which you have, with the most unrelenting diligence, watched over the interests of the Church and society, in all that concerned their welfare and progress, both spiritual and temporal; and have great pleasure in bearing testimony to your fidelity and constant devotion to the best interests of the Church and congregation. The sick have been visited, and those who were in prison are witnesses of your counsel, warning, and admonition; the poor and friendless have been objects of your care and solicitude; the afflicted have been comforted in their distress and anguish of mind, and the dying have been directed to the “Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world.”

And in all the relations you have sustained in the Church and congregation, your bearing has been honorable, manly, and independent, and characterized by meekness, charity, and a Christian spirit.

When we have, as a community, been passing through scenes of unusual violence and bloodshed, you have remained at your post, unmoved by popular tumult and disorder, faithfully declaring “all the counsel of God.”

In your deportment and intercourse with the world, your ministrations in the pulpit, and in mingling and coöperating in the various religious and benevolent enterprises which have originated in San Francisco during your residence here—in all of which you have been active, and in many a leading spirit—your course, for its wisdom and discretion, has been such as to commend the Presbyterian Church and society to the public confidence and respect.

The Church, which was originated under the most unfavorable circumstances, in the midst of the confusion and bustle caused by the restless spirit of gain excited by the discovery of gold in California, and composed at first of six communicants, now numbers over one hundred and fifty, besides those who have been removed by death and those who have been dismissed and recommended to the fellowship of other churches. We have also a flourishing Sabbath School, of one hundred and fifty scholars, under excellent teaching, already bearing precious fruit, and promising a rich harvest in the future. Under such circumstances, our own hearts constrain us to acknowledge that you are making no ordinary personal sacrifice in separating yourself from a field of labor so full of promise in the future, and from a Church and congregation for whose temporal and spiritual welfare you have so long and 166 successfully labored, and we most cordially sympathize with you in this painful trial. But regarding it as inexpedient in a country like this to leave the pulpit vacant for an uncertain period, a sense of duty to the Church as well as yourself, constrains us to accede to your request, at a convenient time, to bring the question proposed before the congregation for their action.

We beg also to assure you of our high respect for your uniform courtesy, kindness, and counsel, in the relation you have sustained to us as members of your session, in which unity and the most entire harmony have prevailed.

Feeling sure that should you leave us, you will carry with you the best and kindest sympathies not only of the Church and congregation, but of the community among whom you have moved and mingled in this city, we affectionately commend you and your family to the Great Head of the Church, praying that He will richly reward your labors of love among us, and do for you and them “exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think.”

We remain truly and affectionately,

Yours in Christian bonds,

W. W. CALDWELL,

R. H. WALLER,

NATH'L GRAY,

THOS. HOPKINS,

THOS. C. HAMBLY,

Ruling Elders.

ACTION OF THE CONGREGATION.

At a meeting of the congregation of the First Presbyterian Church, August 20th, 1854, the following resolution was passed:

Resolved, That this congregation, in the view of the ill health of their pastor, the Rev. Albert Williams, and knowing it to be his earnest desire to be released from his pastoral labors, will not oppose, though with sincere regret they acquiesce in the application he designs to make before the Presbytery.

Further, on motion, a committee, consisting of G. W. P. Bissell and Frederick Billings, Esqs., and Dr. W. O. Ayres, was appointed to address a letter to the Rev. Mr. Williams, expressive of the feelings of the congregation in this their action.

LETTER OF THE COMMITTEE.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., 22D AUGUST, 1854.

REV. ALBERT WILLIAMS.

Respected and Dear Sir —You are aware that the parish of the First Presbyterian Church have voted to unite with you in requesting the Presbytery to terminate the pastoral connection which has existed between yourself and the Church since its organization. This action of the parish was based upon your letter addressed to the Session, and by them laid before the congregation. The letter made known considerations of health, requiring, for a season at least, that you should rest from pastoral labor, and involving the necessity of your absence from the State for an uncertain period.

The parish had no fear that their action, under the circumstances, would be misconstrued to indicate any want of respect and affectionate regard for you, or any forgetfulness of your long, arduous, faithful, and successful efforts in behalf of their Church, and of Christian education in the city. They knew that, as the first and only pastor of the early established and first Protestant Church in San Francisco, your consistent Christian character, your devotion to your high and responsible office, your zeal, energy, and successful labor, were too widely known and well appreciated, to allow, either in the parish or out of it, a thought that your attachment to the Church, with which you had so long been identified, had grown cold, or that the Church had lost its affectionate regard for you.

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But with this the parish were not satisfied. They were unwilling that the pastoral relation should be dissolved without a direct communication of the kind and friendly feelings entertained towards you by them; of their sense of obligation to you, under Providence, for the establishment of their

Church, and its continuance during all the vicissitudes and embarrassments of our city, and without a hearty assurance of their respect and earnest good wishes for the future.

We have been appointed a committee of the parish to address you a letter on their behalf, and we are happy to be made the channel of assuring you that though you cease to be the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of San Francisco, it will never be forgotten that you were its founder, and for more than five years its faithful guide; that you have labored in season and out of season for its prosperity; and that under your zealous but prudent supervision, the Church, and the great doctrines of which it is the exponent, have been commended to the people of San Francisco and the State. Wherever life may lead you in the future, bear with you the conviction that your labors with us have not been in vain; that your name will ever be associated with our Church, and that those who have known you here will remember you with grateful recollections.

Expressing, as well for the parish as for ourselves individually, the earnest wish that you and your family may ever enjoy health and happiness, and that a long life of continued usefulness may be granted to you,

We are, with much respect,

Your friends,

GEO. W. P. BISSELL,

FREDERICK BILLINGS,

WM. O. AYRES.

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ACTION OF THE PRESBYTERY.

At a meeting of the Presbytery of California, held in San Francisco September 21st, 1854, the Rev. Albert Williams applied to be released from the pastoral charge of the First Presbyterian Church of San Francisco.

Mr. Nathaniel Gray appeared in Presbytery as a commissioner from the congregation, and presented their action in the view of this application.

Resolved, That this congregation, in the view of the ill health of their pastor, the Rev. Albert Williams, and knowing it to be his earnest desire to be released from his pastoral labors, will not oppose, though with sincere regret they acquiesce in the application he designs to make before the Presbytery.

Whereupon, the Presbytery passed the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, The Presbytery have heard the request of the Rev. Albert Williams, for the dissolution of the pastoral relation between himself and the First Presbyterian Church of San Francisco, on the ground of enfeebled health, and also the assent, through their commissioner, of the congregation to this request; therefore,

Resolved, That the pastoral relation of the Rev. Albert Williams to the First Presbyterian Church of San Francisco be and hereby is dissolved, on and after the second Sabbath of October next; and that the Rev. Frederick Buel preach in that Church on the third Sabbath of October, and declare the pulpit vacant.

Resolved, That in granting this request, the Presbytery deeply sympathize with the Rev. Albert Williams, in the afflictive providence which has rendered it expedient for him to make this request.

Resolved, That this Presbytery bear testimony to the constant zeal and devotedness with which Mr. Williams has labored for the good of the First Presbyterian Church, from its organization on the 20th of May, 1849; and express their earnest desire that God will continue to follow his labors with rich spiritual blessings to the congregation he has long and steadily served.

Resolved, That the Presbytery commend, with their cordial sympathies and earnest prayers, the Rev. Albert Williams and the First Presbyterian Church of San Francisco to the favor and keeping of the Great Head of the Church, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

Resolved, That a report of these proceedings be furnished for publication in the *Pacific* and *Christian Advocate*, of this city, and the *Presbyterian* of Philadelphia, and the *New York Observer*.

SAN FRANCISCO, October 11, 1854.

REV. ALBERT WILLIAMS.

Dear Sir —As the Trustees of the First Presbyterian Church, and representing, we are confident, the wishes of the congregation, and of all who listened to the interesting and appropriate Farewell Sermon preached by you on Sunday last, we ask a copy of the sermon for publication. With assurance of respect and friendship.

We are your obedient servants,

FREDERICK BILLINGS,

G. W. P. BISSELL,

W. O. AYRES,

ROYAL H. WALLER,

T. F. GOULD,

JAMES H. HESSE,

Trustees of the First Presbyterian Church.

SAN FRANCISCO, October 12, 1854.

Gentlemen —I place at your disposal my Farewell Discourse, not feeling justified in withholding it when requested by your authority.

I remain,

Yours respectfully and truly,

ALBERT WILLIAMS.

TO FREDERICK BILLINGS, G. W. P. BISSEL, Esqs.,

And others, *Trustees, etc.*

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FAREWELL SERMON.

DELIVERED SUNDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1854 For what is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming? For ye are our glory and joy.—I. THESS. ii., 19, 20. CHRISTIAN BREATHERN:

The circumstances of our gathering this morning are special; and they warrant a special character in the present discourse. In nothing, however, which the occasion may prompt me to say, would I divert your attention from the ever-appropriate themes and reflections of the Sabbath and the sanctuary.

Rather would I, on this occasion, in the use of such inspiring and elevating words as these of the Apostle, strive to invest everything I may utter with a seriousness, and spirituality, and eternal moment, which may preserve not only, but heighten the tone of our sacred and devout sentiments. For I trust, my brethren, that notwithstanding the many imperfections of the past, “I have not,” in any important feature or degree, “kept back that which was profitable to you;” nor “shunned to

declare unto you the whole counsel of God.” And therefore it is needless for me, on this occasion, to occupy your time in statements even of the outlines of Christian 172 doctrines and duties. I think you will bear me witness, that of the many sermons I have delivered, in each one I have endeavored to embody distinctly and intelligibly some fundamental and essential part of saving truth; and in all of them there has been a prominent exhibition of the nature and grounds of our hope in Christ, as the divine Savior.

But this is not to assume that I have preached, or you have embraced these doctrines of the saving scheme of the gospel as heartily and improvingly as should have been done. Alas, there is much to regret in the misimprovements of the past, which, if it were in the power of this day's services wholly to amend, who that is here present would not most earnestly strive after so desirable a consummation?

The necessity of “redeeming the time,” I trust we shall see the more clearly, and feel the more impressively, in the view of that high standard of hopes and results which, as in all the gospel, so especially in our text, is set forth as connected with the design, and nature, and due effect of Christian ordinances, through the efficient operation of the Spirit of all grace. “For what,” asks our Apostle, “is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming? For ye are our glory and joy.”

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What grounds of such blessed assurances the Apostle had, in regard to the Thessalonian believers, you learn both from the account of their conversion and exemplary conduct, given in the history of the Acts of the Apostles, and also in the commendatory notices of them in the Epistle to the Thessalonian Church. We must dissociate, in our minds, from those who gave the Apostle so great satisfaction, those others in Thessalonica, who, at the first preaching of the faith of Christ in that city, not only remained in unbelief, but violently opposed both the Christian cause and its apostolic advocates and promoters; and not content with resisting and endeavoring to subvert Christianity at home, even followed the Apostles to other cities of Greece, with the same evil intent and open hostility, infusing into others' minds their own persecuting hostility.

A blessed success, notwithstanding, attended upon the labors of the Apostle and his associates, as in other places, so also in Thessalonica. The brief but expressive record of the fact is thus given by the sacred historian: “And some of them (the Jews) believed, and consorted with Paul and Silas, and of the devout Greeks (Gentile proselytes) a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few.” St. Paul also, in his Epistle to the Thessalonians, bears witness in a good report: That he thanked God always on their behalf, that ¹⁷⁴ the gospel came not to them in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance; that the word of God which was preached to them, they received not as the word of man, but (as it is in truth) the Word of God working effectually in them that believe; that their example, in its happy influence, going forth beyond their own neighborhood, became a pattern and encouragement to all who believed also in Macedonia and Achaia; that in the trials and persecutions they were called to suffer, they remained steadfast in the Christian faith, so that the Apostle could write to them, “We ourselves glory in you in the churches of God, for your patience and faith in all your persecutions and tribulations that ye endure;” and that, looking beyond the present, there was found in existing faithful endurance, “a manifest token of the righteous judgment of God, that they would be counted worthy the kingdom of God, for which also they suffered;” and more, there was a certain promise, that of the Lord they should receive the reward of the inheritance, inasmuch as they “served the Lord Christ;” and finally, as a summary of all these exalted confidences and hopes, that “in the presence of the Lord Jesus Christ,” in the unerring judgment and sentence of the Omniscient Judge, they would be the “hope,” the “joy,” and “crown of rejoicing”—“the glory and the joy”—of the apostolic ministry. ¹⁷⁵

Let it not be accounted strange, my brethren, if this day I should aspire to participate in the exultation and joy of the Apostle, and all in the gospel ministry, over any just occasions of grateful satisfaction and hope. Have I not these grounds of cheering encouragement in this Christian congregation? With no constrained or improper boasting on your behalf, my friends and brethren, I cannot but express it as my honest and sincere conviction, that from the first our organization has been highly favored in having embodied and connected with it so goodly a number, as I believe, of persons possessed of an intelligent, firm, and zealous piety. With such a conviction and grateful recollection, I look back upon the incipient nucleus of this church. And even now, I cannot repress

a feeling of heartfelt admiration, that at that early day, with so few numbers, there was found the practical faith which could then in the name of God set up “our banner;” and when, with all that faith and hope which found their safe reliance only in the covenant grace of God, it was not foreseen by any “whereunto” in extent and usefulness that infant germ and plant of piety would grow. And I remember being asked about that time, by one who was a looker-on and not with us, “How we expected to build a church for our use?” I confess I could hardly tell. But I could look back 176 with some degree of confiding hope upon promises like the one made on board our steamer, as she approached this our destination, by one of the original members of our church, that he would give one hundred dollars the first year towards the building of a church in San Francisco—a truly liberal offer for the time—and, as I publish no names, I may also add, in the view of the motive and munificence of disposition which prompted that offer, and then, as ever since, have been witnessed in deeds of benevolence, it is grateful to know that with the willingness there has been bestowed, in the favor of Providence, the ability to appropriate, not hundreds only, but thousands to the Church and its kindred charities.

From the first, a gratifying prosperity attended upon this church organization. The number of its communicants steadily increased, and in the midst of all the changes occurring in consequence of the transient character of our population, there was a gradual increasing aggregation of strength and numbers in the congregation. The trials of new church enterprises, in such circumstances as those of the earliest times of this city, it is difficult to exaggerate. None but those who have passed through them can fully know them. What with the ever-shifting character of the population; and hope disappointed in some; and in 177 others the annoyance of much talking, and proposing, and planning, with a little promising and no doing; the excitement of business and the eager pursuit of personal ends of gain and ambition; of many, the few only who could spare the time, even if they had the disposition, to devote their attention to these interests; and some who made, or had made their religious professions, but lamentably turned aside and far away from them—with these and other interposing obstacles, I have also the sad remembrance, that that destroying hand which, sooner or later, cuts down all our hopes, removed from us, in the early days of the Church, those

upon whom we leaned in a warrantable confidence, and whom we felt, for the sake of the Church, we could not spare from our number.

Yet were the interests of the Church sedulously cherished, a constant and growing regard for its welfare was maintained, not to say the project of the erection of a church edifice kept in view, and at length, under many discouragements, yet with wonderful success, consummated.

Highly favored was the congregation in all the period prior to its entering our sanctuary, in having the gratuitous use, though subjected to the trouble frequently of change, of convenient places for holding public worship.

It was not until the third Sabbath (the 19th) 178 of January, 1851, that our first church edifice was completed and opened for the worship of Almighty God. For the prosperity which attended the congregation during the continuance of that building, a gradual preparation had been made in its increasingly flourishing condition up to the time of entering the new church. To many in San Francisco and California, that structure, tasteful and attractive, is well remembered with the more pleasing impression and livelier interest, from the fact that it was the first of churches in this city and State erected with any special regard to taste and style in architecture. But it was not long spared by that devouring element which so repeatedly laid the greater and more valuable portions of this city in ashes. As a congregation, we were made to experience, how sadly and heavily many now present will recollect, the reverse which that last general fire, of all the most widely felt by the resident population, produced. The loss was not that of the church edifice alone, though in that respect it was by no means inconsiderable; but added to this were the scattering of our congregation, the heavy personal losses of many of our people, the want of any suitable and commodious place of holding religious services, and what was the most embarrassing of all, a pervading feeling and fact of inability, in the kind which could have been wished, 179 to rebuild. This plain and unpretending structure in which we now worship—with the pulpit, and chandeliers, and a part of the pews saved from the first church—while it has answered the purpose of a sanctuary for the congregation, and has been to the present time too good to be torn down, is

itself an evidence of the discouragements of the Summer of 1851, subsequently to the great fires of May and June of that year.

It is not, I trust, with any feeling of murmuring or complaint, that I recite to you to-day that darker portion of our history. The will of God be done. And the piety which reared that “holy and beautiful house,” could and did, I believe, as cheerfully present and ascend with the incense of its costly sacrifice, and offering devoted and acceptable to God.

From the time of the destruction of the first church, the gatherings and services of the congregation, awhile diminished in numbers, were regularly kept up. Dating from the period of the completion of this present edifice, the congregation again rallied in numbers and strength, and spiritually has since, more than before, prospered; and, without boasting, but only in the statement of a fact, I may add, has maintained, in the number of its communicants, its leading position among the Protestant churches of the city and State. And with less of outward circumstance and show, than in these days of improvement are wont to be desired in connection with the public worship of the sanctuary; with even less of external conveniences than many of ourselves could have wished, yet have we not learned, and well, in the heightened spiritual pleasures of the house of prayer, in the word of God, the prayers, and praises, and sacred songs of Zion, that it is the truth which enlightens, and the spirit sanctifies, and a pure spiritual devotion alone bears the soul of the worshipper away and upward from earth to heaven; while assuredly 't is not the pageantry of show That can impart devotion's glow, Or sanctify a prayer.

Such, I am certain, has been the experience of the worshippers in this humble sanctuary of the Most High and his people. And were our Apostle even present, he would, I am persuaded, apply to such as you anew, as I am prompted to apply his words of exulting congratulation: “For what is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming? For ye are our glory and joy.”

But this is not because you can worship profitably and pleasantly, and thrive also, in a plain sanctuary. I have other grounds of confidence regarding you:

In your observing and attendance upon the weekly prayer meeting, which has been to us a blessed conservative and improving ordinance and service. In your care of the religious instruction and training of the children and youth of the congregation— it is an interest which could not be too zealously cherished; and pleasantly may we remember the constant labors of a score or more in the sphere and duties of the Sabbath School, and Bible classes in connection with it, which, from the first, have furnished evidences of your zeal; and upon the Bible truth taught, either directly from the word of God or indirectly through our catechisms, pleasing proofs also of the Divine blessing have been bestowed.

And while our distinctive character in doctrine and polity has been well known, and we have been careful to avoid all compromises with fundamental and essential error, not among yourselves alone has your Christian zeal been manifested. I rejoice in the fact that your sympathies have not been so restricted, but rather that your hearts and hands have entered, in union with others or by yourselves, into all the projects and useful walks of life, open before you. Some of the charitable institutions of the city have had their origin among you; while, to further the interests of education and missions, and the Bible and Tract causes, and the City Sunday School Union, 182 you have not fallen behind the most zealous and active in well-doing. In such things I do truly rejoice, being most gratified in having seen you ever aiming and striving to act upon the rule of “doing the greatest good to the greatest number.”

It is interesting to look upon this Church as taking its place among “the first things” in the modern history and improvement of California. Many beginnings of new enterprises in this country has it been my lot to witness; many of our mere social and civil organizations and institutions, which have sought the alliance and fostering care of religion. I regard especially the early establishment of our churches here as auspicious omens for this land, in its future prosperity, magnificence, and glory. I look upon the great institutions of the country, with the government of the Union over it, as the more interesting, because the institutions established have been inaugurated under the high sanction and sacred influence of Christianity. The august Convention in 1849 acknowledged and invoked the

aid of religion in forming a constitution for this State; the first public Thanksgiving in November, 1849, a most agreeable surprise, made proclamation of our dependence upon the care of Divine Providence, and of the gratitude due for the blessings, common and special, of our social and religious welfare. So have our legislative bodies, and 183 public occasions, in various pageants and celebrations, proved that prayers here are not confined to churches, but are proper and necessary, and this is a prevailing public sentiment, for all times and interests. These are happy omens for the future. Indeed, beneath all the ruffled agitations of society, and the strifes and excitements of the times, there has been a deep, steady under-current of morality and religion; and though, as is usual in this world, the best influences do not make the most noise, yet is there the more silent yet powerfully operative influence of the Church and its institutions, continually helping forward, on these shores, the great cause of truth and righteousness.

But upon these subjects I may not longer occupy your attention. I come before you to-day in peculiar circumstances. This closing service, in a relation which for five and a half years has subsisted between us, but is now to be sundered, tells me that henceforth my direct, active labors among you cease. I have contributed as I could, in my place, to the aggregate of those efforts by which, hitherto, the interests of the cause of Christianity, and with it of general morality and virtue, have been maintained among us. I have no overweening satisfaction or self-gratulation in the little which it has been my part to do in this peculiar sphere of service. But, looking upon the results of the efforts of the Christian 184 ministry and Christian people of this city—in the view only of those results which are now visible, not to speak of those right hand services which the left hand may not know, and the many offices of charity and friendly assistance, and visitations of the sick and afflicted, and burials of the dead, which come within the sphere of the Christian laborer—you must and will conclude that the pastoral office among us is no sinecure. But none of my respected associates in the Christian ministry in this city or State, nor myself, will complain that the burdens upon us have been heavy; that the cares and anxieties of our calling have made constant demands upon our time and strength; that, what with our pulpit services, which have been only an inconsiderable part of ministerial labor, and many other public and private engagements, we should some of us need, and Providence point to the necessity upon us, to seek a temporary relaxation and

repose. I speak of these things, not as though you knew them not, but because you have known them; and to an extent which I cannot but say it is grateful to remember, you have appreciated them most favorably, and given many expressions of the respect in which the Christian ministry in this land is held. By the promptings of religious instinct and principle, our churches have been built and our asylums founded, and charity 185 full handed has bestowed her lavish gifts upon the unfortunate. Such favor, as the common sentiment of the people, has been, from the beginning of our sojourn upon this coast, shown towards religious and benevolent causes. Thus an additional example is furnished to the world of the reproductive power of religious principle, and of the just grounds of confidence and hope which accompany the colonization of a Christian people.

I cannot refrain, on this occasion, from giving utterance to my heartfelt, grateful acknowledgments of the many undeserved and unexpected expressions of kindness and esteem towards me, from this congregation and the community in general. And I take this occasion to thank especially the congregation at large, and my esteemed associates in the government of the church, the Ruling Elders of the congregation, for their respective communications recently addressed to me, which, I have only to say, are filled with more of commendation than I could have expected, not to say desired.

I can hardly, even at this present moment, seem sensible of the fact that the formal tie which has so long, so harmoniously, and so pleasantly bound us together, is so soon to be dissolved. But assured that the providence of God has clearly indicated this course and issue, I need not say I have felt, and do feel, it is best that it should be so.

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To all of you, beloved hearers, my early and later friends; to the members of the congregation generally; to the Superintendent of the Sabbath School, its teachers and scholars; to the members of the Church; to the Trustees of the congregation; to the Ruling Elders of the Church; to each and all, I tender the assurance of my respectful and affectionate regards.

And as my most deeply impressed and abiding solicitude, it is the sincere and earnest desire of my heart, that though hencefort our lives may be variously directed, yet at length, when all our wanderings shall have ceased, in that better land, in which there are no farewells and no partings, we may meet again.

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CHAPTER XV.

Reflections on the Past—Early Immigration and Trials—Novel Features—The Chief Place of 1849—Formation of the State Government—High Wages and Housekeeping—Fifteen per Cent. per Month—Gumption—Moral Standard—Public Men and Leaders.

The past of California—not alone of the more remote period of isolation and imperfect occupancy of our brothers of the Spanish race—during the time of its possession and development under the genius of the flag and men of the great Republic, is not without its monuments of history: some, in this changeful human life, of departed friendship and worth. Many, very many of the active generation whose intelligence and enterprise founded the State, have passed away. The work of a high civilization and holy religion was auspiciously begun by the pioneers. Upon the proud fabric reared by intelligent skill, signal contributions of effort, strength, and life itself, have been bestowed. Some planned, and others toiled. The foundation being laid, here a stone was prepared and deposited, and secured with the firm cement; there, a graceful arch was shaped and a cheerful window added to the structure; and higher and higher the work ascended. But as it advanced, amid the long, busy lines of 188 toilers, by the exhaustion of wearying exertion and pressure of an insupportable burden, one and another grew faint and fell. A pioneer has dropped from his relaxed hand his implement of labor: he sleeps his last sleep. And still the work has continued, carried onward by other pioneers and their associates towards completion, when every beam and floor, roof and ceiling, support and ornament, in their several places, consummate the noble work. The esteemed dead lived not, labored not in vain. With the accumulations of their agency, and over their ashes, a higher stage of progress was attained, upon whose plane a higher and still higher end is sought. Labor is not in vain, though accompanied by pains and tears. The great problem of

the world is performed in an onward march of individual and social life, through life's manifold changes. The loved, the lost, the absent, and the dead, Were with me then.

The startling report of the gold discovery, wherever heard, turned all eyes wistfully toward the new field of fortune. Many essayed to undertake the venture who did not. The anticipated trials which deterred multitudes from the attempt and were borne by the venturesome, though often referred to, have never perhaps been fully comprehended by the inexperienced.

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Long and tedious voyages by sea, around Cape Horn, were attended with unwelcome delays, through storms and calms. Not less wearisome, and even more vexatious, were the overland journeys, which put to the trial all the powers of endurance, and bonds of obligation, and virtue of patience and mutual forbearance; and often broke down the barriers of good-fellowship, and opened up breaches of friendship, variances, feuds, and final separations. For the journeys by sea and land to the new gold regions, almost all of the early adventurers were grouped in associated companies. The reasons which induced such concert were drawn from considerations of economy, protection, and mutual assistance, not only *en route*, but in supposed benefits of coöperation in mining and trading enterprises. Of the three hundred, my fellow-passengers, in the *Crescent City* from New York to Chagres, all except sixteen belonged to fifteen variously named mining and trading associations, each numbering from seven to thirty members. From December, 1848, onward, vessels sailed from New York and other Atlantic ports, bearing their complements of passengers, who, generally, were also owners, and their assorted freights, always including the last invented and most improved gold-washing and gold-saving machines. The more provident of adventurers also before their departure took the precaution to inform themselves concerning the use of chemical tests, in order to prevent mistakes of gathering base metals instead of pure gold. The Winter of 1849-50 was, to such as chose the overland route, the season of preparation for their long and arduous journey. Routes were selected, and purchases made of wagons, teams of horses or oxen, saddle-horses and pack-horses, and provisions and arms. The preferable route, of course, to those who were bold enough to face the inconveniences of the Isthmus transit, and the more threatening danger of Isthmus malaria, and bear its greater expense, was the new steamer route so

timely opened. That great enterprise was a most welcome provision for an urgent demand, and laid many voyagers to and from California under deep obligations to its enterprising proprietors, Messrs. Howland & Aspinwall; as the same great line of steamers, continued by their successors to the present time, not displaced by the magnificent continental railroad, is yet a popular mode of travel, availed of by persons of leisure and seekers of variety and comfort. The Pacific Mail Steamship Company must ever be held to occupy a prominent place among the instrumentalities for promoting the settlement and growth of California. Trials along this route, incident to the circumstances, may and do occur. But ample provision being made for the convenience of 191 travellers, no just occasion of complaint was left, and no cause of discomfort.

With rare exceptions, the early overland journeys were attended with hardships and trials, which descriptions, though often essayed, have rarely, if ever, fully portrayed. It has been said that these wayside experiences removed many a doubt concerning the Bible doctrine of total depravity, and taught the lesson how selfish, perverse, mean, faithless, and utterly unamiable and formidable man may and does become, when base passions are allowed to obtain the mastery over him. A New York bookseller and publisher, whom I had known in his business, called upon me and gave the result of his overland troubles: His company was disbanded, and there was not one of his late associates with whom he would be willing to be again brought into fellowship. "Not quite so," he added; "there is one exception—yet he in his rage killed one of the animals belonging to the party, and in a fit of passion threw a hatchet at one of the men." Trials to which principles and character are subjected, are not the least of the evils suffered in the present life.

It was permitted to me, on account of my early arrival, to witness not the very beginning, but the first great wave of the incoming immigration, which in 1849 swept over the country. The 192 population on the 1st of January, 1849, and little increased until after the first steamer arrivals from two to four months thereafter, is estimated to have been 26,000, to wit: Californians, exclusive of Indians, 13,000, Americans 8000, and foreigners 5000. At the end of 1849, the arrivals during that year, aggregating from 80,000 to 90,000, made a total population at that date of about 110,000. Those arriving by sea, generally proceeded at once to the gold-fields, and there met the overland immigration upon the open, common ground, and in the common search and struggle for gold. A

trial, at least, of gold mining, which was their original object, was made by nearly all, whatever may have previously been their employment—in the professions, or in mercantile, mechanical, or agricultural pursuits. Thus new communities, temporary or permanent, were formed in the interior, while at the ports and in the valleys of the seaboard, the settlements and towns were at first only slightly augmented.

California seemed, indeed, to Americans, in many of its aspects, a foreign country. The presence, at the centres of population, of a proportionally large number of native Californians, reminded us of the fact of their recent ownership of the land. The Spanish language, too, was heard in familiar speech, acquired as a whole by such of our people as had been for a longer time residents, or caught up by others recently arrived, in its familiar phrases: *esta bueno* —it is good; *si, señor* —yes, sir. The strange coloring of physical features and of social life gave an air of romance to scenes of daily observation. All was excitement in business, in the new and strange, in hope and ambition—a whirling maelstrom almost; a scene upon which strangers looked wildly, as they beheld it for the first time. And with reason might the question have been asked, Can settled, fixed purposes coëxist with the manifold interests, aims, and projects of communities without any seeming bond of union?

With the confidence which facts and history inspire, there is claimed for the year 1849 a chief place for eventful incidents, stirring changes, and accomplished designs. Its history of progress is not that of barbarous, savage hordes, by a gradual process of improvement and growth. The germs, the life principles of government and order, were borne with the adventurous pioneers, and were an essential part of themselves. All that was required was the work of selection and combination to form symmetrical and stately civil and social institutions. These, in due time, arose out of the seeming, but only seeming chaos. In the midst of the wildest of natural scenery and promiscuous gatherings of men, if necessity required, as a friend related to me in his own case, for the adjustment of private rights and redress of injuries, a court could be suddenly constituted, with all essential forms, to define and enforce the behests of justice.

The truth of the general statement, that order and quiet, and security of life and property, were characteristic in the country, is confirmed, as by other authority, by the official reports of Governor

Mason and Governor Riley, the latter of whom I quote in his letter to the Secretary of War, Aug. 30, 1849: "Before leaving Monterey, I heard numerous rumors of irregularities and crimes among those working in the *placeres*; but on visiting the mining regions, I was agreeably surprised to learn that every thing was quite the reverse from what had been represented, and that order and regularity were preserved throughout the entire extent of the mineral districts. In each little settlement, or tented town, the miners have elected their *alcaldes* and constables, whose judicial decisions and efficient acts are sustained by the people, and enforced with much regularity and energy." In San Francisco, valuable property, exposed in frail structures not only, but lying by night as well as day unprotected on the street, was undisturbed. It was dangerous, it was also accounted mean, to steal.

Universal doubt and uncertainty existed at the date of my arrival with regard to future steps 195 towards the establishment of a general government over the territory. Congress had failed to provide a government. California was agitated over the question. What was probable, or even possible, could not be foreseen. Tentative measures, originating in a desire to change the existing Mexican forms, had been put forth in some half dozen towns, by the establishment of District Legislative Assemblies. But these were felt to be insufficient, if not positively objectionable. Very soon after my arrival, spending an evening at the residence of Mr. C. V. Gillespie, I there met a number of gentlemen, residents of San Francisco. Among them was the lamented Edward Gilbert, of the *Alta California*. Inquiries were made of me respecting the probable course of the Taylor administration at Washington towards California. I was able to reply that just before leaving the East, I heard the new government would probably suggest an independent movement of the people of California for the formation of a State Constitution. A marked surprise followed this announcement, expressed by all present, and especially by Mr. Gilbert, who remarked, "Such a procedure, without the usual mediate territory, being without precedent, is impossible." Yet, a month or two afterward, the arrival of the Hon. Thos. Butler King, charged from Washington to further this scheme, confirmed the truth of my 196 report, not to say, the measure became sooner than expected an accomplished fact.

Referring to minor but not indifferent matters, labor in general, being in demand, exacted extreme wages; often, in necessary cases, these were beyond the means of employers, or of adjudged

propriety. “Carry it yourself, then,” was the oft-heard answer of an independent porter, refusing the offer of a half dollar from one just landed in the city, and asking three dollars for the insignificant service of removing a trunk a short distance. More heavily the burden of high wages pressed upon housekeepers, when cooks commanded one hundred and fifty dollars per month. When in my own family I had need of help, I began by paying ninety dollars per month, and ended, at the close of my pastorate late in 1854, with the rate of sixty dollars per month. My family expenses for water and milk were equal—each, one hundred and fifty dollars per annum. The fact of high servants' wages in '49, together with the scarcity of supply of servants, deprived our San Francisco society of three of our justly admired ladies, Mrs. Colonel Geary, Mrs. Major Ogden, and Mrs. General Persifer F. Smith. The inconvenience to the family of General Smith was the more annoying, because a domestic was brought under an engagement from the East, and not only her own passage was defrayed, but in addition 197 that of her brother, which ought to have secured the performance of the contract, but failed under the first tempting offer of advanced wages. When making my farewell call upon the ladies of the military family, on the eve of their departure, a conversation occurred, in which a gloomy foreboding of our future was expressed. General Smith remarked to his wife, “I think, forty years hence, the situation will be so changed that you can return and live in California.” “Yes,” was the answer, “in about that time.”

New York, it was remarked, gave shape to the modes of mercantile business. And yet the skilled, careful merchant, from old established marts, looked with astonishment at what he considered reckless in transactions and ruinous in results. Very young persons, too, embarked in business, occupied the places, and did the work usually in the hands of men of mature age and large experience. The current speech about “thousands,” was a temporary check upon hope. Happy, it was thought, was the man who had “money in his purse;” or what was even better, a fortunate holding of merchandise in demand; or, wanting these, was well furnished with physical strength, and a resolute, courageous heart. In the circumstances, often I was reminded of a conversation which I overheard in New York, when “California” first began to be an exciting 198 topic. Two gentlemen, sitting near me in a restaurant, were discussing the *pro* and *con* of the question, and referring to one and another acquaintance who had caught the “gold fever,” the conversation was

closed by the remark of one, “Well, I think whoever goes to California should have plenty of money, plenty of wind, and plenty of gumption.” The order in which the several conditions were stated, was wisely given in the climax of the scale. Mr. John M. Finley once said to me, “Did you ever hear of a country whose rate of interest was fifteen per cent. per month?—and yet we can pay it.” In many things, the situation was unparalleled. The movements of the times were often like the progress and effects of a tornado. Causes in operation were singularly powerful. By irresistible forces, men were borne onward. Some were caught in whirling eddies. The excitements were too powerful for imperfectly controlled minds. The more conservative instincts and restraints were over-borne. As in a storm, tender trees of the forest fall, and the sturdy, deep-rooted stand; so the morally strong of the early times survived, while the irresolute and weak became prostrate wrecks.

Of the evil and the good, each had its place. Whatever departures from the right occurred, a standard of just principles was recognized. Though the Church and religion received not 199 from all the heed which was desired, neither the one nor the other was spoken against; both were commended. The sacredness of Sunday was acknowledged. On secular days only, in the times referred to, were lines of travel in operation. On one occasion, I noticed the sailing of the Panama steamer advertised for Sunday, and meeting the agent, Mr. R., referred him to the customs prevailing at the East. A day or two afterward, meeting the gentleman on the street, I was accosted with the words, “Mr. W., the steamer will leave on Monday.” It is not denied that secular work was performed, but it is also true that when it was the case, an apology was felt to be due to prevailing religious sentiment, such as the excuse of necessity. As to the consideration of gain, the miner was one of the majority who charged another with “meanness” for mining on Sunday, as if not satisfied with the profits of work on secular days.

As events group themselves in eras and epochs, so likewise in social movements, classes and individuals become conspicuous. Looking backward through a period dating from the dawn of an awakened interest of the American government and people, looking to the extension of their territory to the Pacific, many names of men distinguished in the line of events, stand out in bold relief. In 1792, Captain Gray of Boston 200 discovered and entered the river Columbia, so called after the name of his ship. President Jefferson, after the purchase of Louisiana, commissioned

Lewis and Clarke to traverse and explore the Far West. American trappers and hunters made still more extended excursions. Astor and Hunt established a trading post on the Columbia. Bonneville explored and mapped a continental belt. The example of explorers and hunters led the way of other adventurers. Christian missionaries were among the foremost in proving the practicability of a route to Oregon. The scientific expeditions of Fremont and others followed in the train. Permanent settlements of Americans and Europeans began, and were increasingly made on the seaboard and in the valleys of the west. California became the scene of civil revolutions; Americans were involved in them, and rose to prominence in the commotions of the country. The Bear Flag of independence was unfurled and triumphant in the northern district of the territory. The American navy, with the aid of this revolutionary movement, in a brief, effective war of conquest, acquired full possession of California in behalf of and for the United States.

More and more, as time rolls on, the heroes of these successive events will be appreciated. More especially will those who figured in the scenes of the American acquisition claim due recognition. 201 These are herewith referred to, not all, but leading representative men, who deserve all honor for their courage, firmness, and devotion in the cause of liberty and equal rights. Of the earlier names may be mentioned—Stearns, Larkin, Warner, Wilson, Williams, Wolfskill, Dana, Graham, Richardson, Leese, Spence, Hartnell, Yount, Lassen, Neal, Semple, Merritt, Ide, Ford, Leidesdorff, Reading, Hensley, Snyder, Bidwell, Walker, Mellers, Howard, and the prince of pioneers, ever-honored Sutter. The heroes of the conquest under the flag of the Union were Sloat and Stockton, the chief, with Mervine, Beale, McLane, Marston, Minor, Renshaw. Of the army, were Kearney, Fremont, Gillespie, Burton, Stevenson, Sherman, and Halleck. In the succeeding naval command were Shubrick, Biddle, and Jones; and in military and civil control, Kearney and Fremont, ending the military government of the territory, by the exceptional aid of Halleck as Secretary of State, under the administration of Mason, Smith, and Riley.

Nor should I omit to record the gratifying fact, that in the transition of California from the authority of the Mexican flag to that of the United States, native Californians vied with the heartiest of Americans in loyalty to the new rule over them and their territory. When resistance to the invading power could no longer avail, party, strife, 202 and opposition were all suppressed. Thenceforward,

in power and office under the provisions of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and as well in forming a State Constitution and administering a State government, were seen, side by side with their new associates, Vallejo, Covarrubias, Castro, Pico, Carillo, Coronel, De la Guerra, Dominguez, Rodriguez, Pedrorena, Bandini, Arguello, Noriega, Alvarado, and Sepulveda. The native Californians, a part of those here recited, as members of the Constitutional Convention were valuable coadjutors in that body of intelligent men. Their speeches were brief and pointed, and the good sense and appreciation of the work proposed which they manifested, with their earnest desire for harmony and union, gained for them deserved respectful attention.

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CHAPTER XVI.

Predictions, Sombre and Bright—San Francisco: A Dream—Increasing Productions—Statistics of Agriculture, etc.—Trade and Commerce—California and the Orient.

The early, rapid growth of San Francisco was a wonder to its own citizens, as it has ever seemed a wonder to all the world. Its wastes became the scene of busy men, hurrying to and fro. At once it took rank as the metropolis by the sea, at the gateway of the Orient as of the Occident. The mountains from their golden streams poured into it their rich treasures. The great oceans were its highway of commerce, and from all lands the merchandise of the nations supplied the means of its material changes and advancement. California without industrial arts and products was a dependence of commerce. Thus by means of foreign supplies, not only San Francisco, but all the towns and camps of the country grew apace.

Many were the predictions of the times respecting the future of California. They were of all degrees and colors, from the deeps of distrust, and forebodings of sudden general collapse, to the most extravagant fancies of prosperity and fortune. Some foresaw the end of gold mining; others feared a famine; on account of the 204 Summer dry season there could be no agriculture, only a general failure was foretold. On the other hand, was the fond dream that success in every hope and expectation would assuredly fall to the lot of all who were so fortunate as to touch the golden shore.

A fellow-passenger of mine was troubled by the estimated cost of commissions he would be obliged to pay for the transportation of his gold. Nearly every gold-seeker set a limit to the time necessary to realize his fortune, when he would return with his weight in gold to the happy home he had left. Highly-wrought fancies of what San Francisco and California would become in the vastness of their opportunity were likewise indulged—day-dreams of the imagination, as fleeting as they were unsubstantial.

Is California, indeed, a fairy-land, that it gives such scope and prompting to flights of fancy? By the stimulus of its surroundings, all Californians, all visitors in California, grow more or less sentimental. Nor is this a recent fact. There is inspiration in all its variety of scene in nature. The real is sufficiently poetic, without resorting to the fictitious. So a gentleman, denying the charge of untruthfulness from a California source, remarked, he believed no one could spend two days or more on the Isthmus without contracting the vice of story-telling. In fact, he found himself *exaggerating a little*. Ere the gold discovery, 205 there came to the denizens of California glimpses and visions of a glowing future, in new creations of convenience, taste, and beauty. Such is the following remarkable prophecy regarding San Francisco, a reprint from the *Californian* of December 8, 1847, an offering from the graceful pen of Mrs. Dr. V. J. Fourgeaud.

SAN FRANCISCO—A DREAM.

On a calm and lovely November evening, a weary and travel-stained pilgrim from the far Atlantic shore, borne onward by that restless and indomitable spirit which characterizes the Anglo-Saxon race, laid himself down on a solitary spot on the shore of a vast and beautiful bay. No living thing was visible, save the wild bird, as it winged its flight through the air, a few deer grazing quietly on the hills, and occasionally a timid rabbit leaping from thicket to thicket. Exhausted by fatigue, and lulled by the gentle ripple of the bay and the distant murmuring of the Pacific waves, he soon slept. He dreamed, and lo! “a wilderness of building” rose before him; a stately city, thronged with busy multitudes; its streets bordered with noble edifices; its wharves crowded with the merchant princes of every land; its harbor filled with the vessels of all nations. Here, the bold eagle of America, beside its well known ally, tri-colored France—there, the proud pennon of England beside that of

China; the flags of Russia, Holland, Spain, Turkey, all flaunting gaily in the fair sunlight. Steamers were wending their way in every direction; and not the least conspicuous among them was the little *Fairy*, the first which ever puffed over these waters. A confused jargon of many tongues was around him, requiring a 206 learned blacksmith, master of fifty languages, for an interpreter. “Where am I?” demanded he of one near him. A stare was the only reply of an “elliptic-eyed” inhabitant of the land of many letters and few ideas. He turned to another, a brisk and vivacious little man of a very mercurial appearance. “*Je ne vous comprend, Monsieur,*” said he, with a gracious smile and bow. Perplexed and bewildered, he wandered on, and soon entered a magnificent public square. “Where am I?” again asked he of one whose visage reminded him of home. “Where are you? Why, Old Rip, you must have been taking a twenty years nap among the mountains not to know that. Why, man, this is Portsmouth Square—that the theatre—this is the Bank of San Francisco—yonder the University of California—the Court House, with the learned lawyers around it; there is the principal road to Monterey; here Orleans and Boston, *via* Tehuantepec, and here come the rail-cars rattling on.” “What news from the East?” “Read for yourself,” replied a passenger; “here is a New Orleans paper, only thirteen days old. That’ll do. But there’s the gong of the City Hotel.” “Do you stop there, stranger?” “What, there! in that splendid building?” asked he, in looking up to the fifth story of an elegant edifice, whose classic front extended along the entire square; “why yes, and nowhere else can such good fare be found; truffles, oysters, mushrooms, *pates a la mode de Paris*, birds’ nests, etc., *a la mode de Chinois*; beef, beans, and potatoes, *a la mode d’Amerique*; hock, burgundy, and champagne; besides wines from the vineyards of our own California—all that a man can desire. Come!” From the dinner table he was conducted through brilliantly illuminated streets to the opera. There, in a luxuriantly cushioned and elegantly draped box, he was at once rapt in elysium, by those “linked notes of sweetness” which would “create a soul under the very ribs of death,” and at the same time transported to the seventh heaven by 207 the varied loveliness which surrounded him. While thus astonished and entranced, the cry of “Fire!” “Fire!” “Fire!” broke upon his ear. The engines soon rushed to the rescue; the vigilant firemen poured in a stream of water, which suddenly dispersed the dream of our pilgrim stranger, and lo! he was again on the solitary shore, with a pitiless storm beating on his unsheltered head. “Coming events” had but “cast their shadows before.”

And yet it must be admitted, the moderate forecasting of sober minds has been accomplished, and perhaps more than fulfilled. The country has been gradually filling up with an enterprising population; great areas of land have been brought under cultivation, and made to yield golden harvest; industry and art, in multiplied forms, have made rapid strides of advancement; established cities and towns, and rural cultivation as well, have given permanency to business and comfortable homes. The history of California, as a whole, is one of transcendent prosperity. Wonderfully have the energies of the people been exercised, and with surprising consequences. Within the bounds of vision, from an elevation in San Francisco, the eye sweeps over a marked scene of grandeur and beauty: the magnificent bay, the hill-ridge of Contra Costa, and the extended, undulating plain beneath and bounding the eastern shore of the harbor. That view often arrested attention in the early days, when no ferry across the water made it accessible. There lay the vast, untrodden wilderness of green oaks, while outside, very few and far between, could be seen the low, tile-covered *casa* of a Castro or Estudillo. There, in that large grove of oaks, we said, is the site of the future “Brooklyn” of San Francisco. And so it has proved. There has risen, not “Brooklyn,” but fitly-named Oakland, a city of forty thousand inhabitants, with its many imposing churches, schools, and other public buildings, and with Berkeley on its northern border and the State University, crowning with gems of structure its landscape.

What of improvement is seen from this stand-point, by enlarging the boundaries of vision and taking into view the entire State, differences or contrasts between the present and the past everywhere appear. So soon, within a period of thirty years, large, prosperous towns have been built up at intervals in all parts of the land—San Francisco, the metropolis, of three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, with Oakland, Sacramento, Stockton, Marysville, San José, Los Angeles, Santa Cruz, Monterey, Santa Rosa, Petaluma, and others, centres of surrounding settlements and industries. Harmless and in vain were all the ill omens uttered by unhappy croakers. Often the vulgarity was heard, “The bottom is dropping out,” as applied to the production of gold. When gold was reduced in quantity, silver was discovered, and 209 produced sufficiently to make good deficiencies. Were gold and silver together lessened by diminished production, there has arisen more than a supplement of that loss in the accumulated agricultural productions of the State. And

still more, were these last and the others to fall off in quantity, by the sum of fruits of various kinds, the total value of products throughout the State will be more than maintained.

According to latest reports, the total amount of acres of land inclosed is 6,319,864; and of land cultivated, 3,576,366. The product of wheat raised upon 2,352,213 acres, 35,385,579 bushels; of barley, from 678,957 acres, 13,224,060 bushels; and from 125,442 acres, 1,958,737 bushels of oats; of rye, from 12,517 acres, 204,608 bushels; from 78,511 acres, 1,620,743 bushels of corn; of buck-wheat, from 1629 acres, 45,010 bushels; from 4667 acres, 252,337 bushels of peas; from 616 acres, 468,025 pounds of peanuts; of beans, from 6708 acres, 142,333 bushels; of castor beans, 255,000 pounds, from 255 acres; 160,024 tons of potatoes, from 36,499 acres; of sweet potatoes, from 1859 acres, 11,129 tons; from 1047 acres, 71,745 bushels of onions; of hay, 1,432,593 tons from 726,088 acres; from 270 acres, 308,070 pounds of flax; of hops, 2,666,648 pounds, from 1573 acres; from 301 acres, 201,300 pounds of tobacco; of cotton, 12,800 pounds, from 50 acres; 210 of sugar beets, 14,152 tons, from 1681 acres. Butter, 10,188,818 pounds; cheese, 3,199,420 pounds; wool, 24,031,047 pounds; honey, 1,036,490 pounds. Value of fruit crop, \$4,454,914; bearing lemon trees, 12,460; bearing orange trees, 55,606; bearing olive trees, 5603; acres of grape vines, 82,661; gallons of wine, 6,194,292; gallons of brandy, 237,495; breweries, 182, and gallons of beer, 14,442,191. Horses, 232,539; mules, 23,864; horned cattle, 679,268; sheep, 6,171,644; cashmere and angora goats, 64,729; hogs, 363,842. Grist mills: steam-power, 86; water-power, 69; barrels of flour made, 1,961,880; bushels of corn ground, 437,512. Saw mills: steam-power, 229; water-power, 106; feet of lumber sawed, 492,263,130; shingles made, 116,222,700. Quartz mills, 261; tons crushed, 631,065; mining ditches, 1053, and miles in length, 55491/2; irrigating ditches, 772; acres irrigated, 199,080. Woollen mills, 11; pounds of wool used, 3,003,000. Coal, 137,278 tons mined. Railroads, 74, and 1857 63/100 miles in length. Assessed value of real estate, \$317,330,063; of improvements, \$103,124,361; of personal property, \$126,240,281; total valuation, \$546,694,705. Gold and silver production received in San Francisco in 1878, from the Pacific Slope, west of the Rocky Mountains, \$81,154,622. In the same year, coinage at the San Francisco Mint, \$50,186,500. Estimated total population, (1876,) 905,583; registered voters, 195,300.

To this exhibit of industries, compiled from the Report of the Surveyor-General of the State, 1876-7, must be added in an average of the whole, in order to cover the present condition, probably ten per cent. of gain. With an increase of the population of the State, has been more than a proportional advance in the development of its available resources. Improvements are often upon a magnificent scale; but in both great and small areas, collectively, marked strides of progress have been made. The variety and extent of productions from the soil, already of large proportions, are constantly extending. Nearly all the European species of grapes have been introduced. Cinchona, tea, and coffee are under cultivation, the last now fruited. Melons of large variety, peaches, plums, pears, figs, and olives, berries of the different kinds, strawberries throughout the year, all thrive in perfection. Orange belts have been increasingly discovered and occupied. On the slopes of the foothills of the Sierra Nevada, in the latitude of San Francisco, oranges, lemons, and limes are grown, untouched by frost, when it has occasionally blighted these fruits in the southern counties. Bananas thrive in the southern districts, and also in picturesque Sonoma Valley. Chestnuts of American, Italian, and Spanish varieties, almonds, English walnuts, the French *præparturiens* walnut, the kaki or Japan 212 persimmon, with the tropical cherimoyer, grenadillas, and sapota fruits (experimental,) and many other fruits and nuts, have been transferred to a new home on the Pacific shore. Not without reason, it is predicted that soon the united production of fruits and nuts will equal the wheat product. Dried fruits of California—raisins, figs, prunes, not to name more—are conspicuous in our markets, and in considerable quantities find sale abroad. It need not be accounted strange, with such facts before him, that a Californian stops to think of the great difference and contrast between the present and past, separated by hardly one-third of a century.

As commerce and trade were essential parts, with mining for the precious metals, of the early enterprise of California, so still, with agriculture and the mechanic arts, they hold their place, and an enhanced position in the plans and measures of the country. Once, ships brought all our merchandise to our ports, and carried nothing away. Far different is now the fact. Once, as the people of all lands came to our shore, they brought with them the necessities and conveniences of life—food, clothing, houses, and implements of industry. Still the representatives of the nations flock hither, but in changed conditions. Imports no longer hold an exclusive place, as once the

precious metals were the only exports. By degrees, 213 home production has arisen. The fact began to be palpable and make its impression when the soil yielded to the husbandman its teeming product of golden wheat. Chilean and Richmond breadstuffs long since disappeared from our markets.

Facts and figures, indicating the marked turn affairs have taken in commerce and trade are herewith given from the annual review of the San Francisco *Commercial Herald*, of January 30, 1879: Wheat product of 1878, 22,500,000 centals; wheat and flour exports in 1878, 9,530,673 centals; wheat and flour exports for twenty-two years, 100,000,000 centals; merchandise export values by sea in 1878, \$34,155,400; tonnage movement of the Central Pacific RR. in 1878, 2,190,000,000 pounds. Values of exports of merchandise, other than treasure, for 1878, from San Francisco to different ports: New York, \$4,315,919; Great Britain, \$16,076,668; Germany, \$109,176; Australia, \$814,667; New Zealand, \$231,155; Hawaiian Islands, \$1,582,747; Japan, \$596,176; China, (including 209,611 barrels of flour,) \$3,109,320; France, \$1,342,272; Belgium, \$46,169; South America, \$660,410; Mexico, \$1,696,086; Victoria, \$1,365,716; Panama, Central America, South Africa, Brazil, Russian possessions in Asia, Singapore, Manila, Calcutta, Penang, Batavia, and Society, Marquesas, Navigators, Fiji, Flint, Ladrone, Gambier, Fanning, and Marshall Islands, \$1,708,913.

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This showing of the amount and relations of California commerce, speaks volumes for the productive resources of the State, and the wide and far-reaching extent of international trade. The place our State occupies among the producing and commercial communities of the world was not overstated in early times, and the point it has reached already in the march of advancement is sufficient to satisfy the most hopeful expectations. Its relations are with all the world.

The names of foreign ports embraced in this summary statement show the far-reaching extent of the commercial relations of California. In her magnificent harbor, each season, are gathered fleets of grain-bearing ships, seeking freights for distant voyages. More important still are the many lines of steamers from San Francisco as a centre, coastwise and across the Pacific, keeping open constant communications and furthering systematic exchanges. First to be noted, deservedly, is the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, whose ships still hold their connection, touching at Mexican and Central American ports, *via* Panama, with New York, and also maintain regular lines with Yokahama and

Hongkong, with British Columbia and the ports of Puget Sound, and Honolulu, Auckland, and Sydney. The Occidental and Oriental Steamship Company, alternating with the P. M. S. S. Co., run semi-monthly 215 ships to Japan and China, connecting at Yokahama with steamers for Shanghai. The Oregon Steamship Company and the Pacific Coast Steamship Company dispatch every five days one of their ships to Astoria and Portland, and the latter Company run almost daily steamers to California ports south of San Francisco. The California Steam Navigation and other Companies keep open communication by steam with different points on the coast and inland waters. The railroad enterprises of the State, in addition to the Central and Southern Pacific Companies, bring nearly all the interior towns into close communication with each other and with San Francisco. The changes produced by the two thousand two hundred miles of railroad facilities, now in operation within the State, are far more and greater than the present limits can describe.

Very naturally the trade of California with the opposite shore of the Pacific originated. Soon as the news of the discovery of gold reached its ports, ships lying in them were loaded and dispatched to the California market. Arriving at a time when goods of all kinds almost were in demand, cargoes were readily disposed of, and the vessels returned for second loadings. Here was demand, there supply. An active though limited trade with China engaged leading mercantile houses in San Francisco. Finley, Johnson & Co., 216 Osborn & Brannan, G. B. Post & Co., and others, embarked in the trade. Articles of American and European growth and manufacture, in the Chinese market found their opportunity to meet the new demand. Products of China, tea, sugar, rice, and fruits, were sent in quantities. This course of trade became settled. The importance of the business was felt and commented upon. At length, communication with China by steamships was mooted. Mr. J. W. Osborn, of San Francisco, was foremost in urging upon the United States government the establishment of a mail steamship line between San Francisco and Hongkong. The end was accomplished.

Looking back to its commencement, it is seen that in the track of the newly-opened trade, the Chinese themselves came to our shores. At first this number was few—so few as hardly to attract attention. Like other immigrants, they came as adventurers. They were importers and jobbers. Very few were in other employments. Nearly all were merchants. They were intelligent and by their

orderly demeanor they commended themselves to the public confidence and respect. Their number steadily, though slowly increased. In the Summer of 1850, there were about one hundred Chinese in San Francisco. The first public recognition of their presence in our city was made an occasion of general interest. Consignments of 217 Chinese books and tracts, secular and religious, having been sent to us, it was suggested by their consular agent, Mr. Frederick A. Woodworth, that a public distribution should be made of the publications among the resident Chinese. Arrangements were accordingly made by a committee consisting of Mr. Woodworth, Mayor Geary, and myself. In the afternoon of the 28th of August, 1850, their entire number assembled, and were conducted in procession, two by two, to a large platform on Portsmouth Square. In their rich, national costume, not omitting the costly fan to shelter them from the sun, they were objects of marked observation. In turn, they were addressed through Ah Sing, the interpreter, by Mr. Woodworth, Mayor Geary, the Rev. Mr. Hunt, and myself. The several speakers united in expressing the pleasure shared in common by the citizens of San Francisco, at their presence, the encouraging omen of opening friendly intercourse with their country, the hope that more of their people would follow their example in crossing the ocean to our shore, and finally charging them with a message to their friends in China, that in coming to this country they would find welcome and protection. The dignified manners and general attractive bearing of the “China boys,” as Mr. Woodworth familiarly styled them—others said they bore the appearance of Mandarins—called 218 forth universal commendation. The *California Courier*, making note concerning them, expressed the general sentiment: “We have never seen a finer looking body of men collected together in San Francisco. In fact, this portion of our population is a pattern for sobriety, order, and obedience to laws; not only to other foreign residents, but to Americans themselves.”

Such sentiments continued to be held concerning the Chinese sojourning in San Francisco. The interest felt and shown in their behalf was common to our citizens—to business men, to politicians, if there were any, and to the humane and philanthropic generally. The First Presbyterian Church led in efforts to throw around the strange people Christian influences, by attracting them to its Sunday School. The establishment of the Presbyterian Chinese Mission of San Francisco followed in 1852. A second general expression of interest in the Chinese was shown by a numerous attendance of

merchants and other prominent persons upon a course of lectures on the Chinese by our Missionary, the Rev. William Speer, in the Winter of 1852-53. That favor, at the end of the course, was embodied in a series of resolutions, unanimously adopted by a large assemblage of the solid men of the city. One of the resolutions, in keeping with the rest, was the following:

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“Resolved, That we regard with pleasure the presence of a great number of this people among us, as affording the best opportunity of doing them good, and through them of exerting our influence upon their native land.”

The import of this resolution is apparent. A high ground of social and moral relations to the strangers from China on our soil is here assumed. Special opportunities are recognized, and peculiar obligations confessed. These look beyond the narrow sphere of private and selfish aims and interests. The opportunity consists with the very presence of the people, and the obligation to confer benefits upon them accompanies this privilege. In whatever respect they are inferior to us, it is acknowledged to be our duty to impart to them, for their own better civilization and the elevation of their countrymen, our own advantages. Such being the principle involved in the resolution, its practical effect at once was witnessed in the meeting which adopted it. Liberal subscriptions were made towards the establishment of a Mission in which secular and religious teaching would be furnished to the Chinese.

In the business relations of our city at that early day, it was considered a most important point to secure the trade of the Orient. The position of California, facing the great oriental countries, was regarded as most favorable for such an achievement. So, in the ordering of events, every step towards such a result was hailed as a valued acquisition, and every expedient which could be devised with that object in view was earnestly sought after, and, if possible, secured. The material advantages to California and the United States of friendly relations and active business with China have, of course, been influential considerations in regard to this whole question. Under the influence of such motives, worldly but not sordid, the opening of more Treaty ports in China,

amended Treaties, and finally the Burlingame Treaty, were successively approved and welcomed, without a dissenting voice, all over our land.

And now, forsooth, a change, an agitation, an incipient revolution shall I call it, has happened. The new attitude on the Chinese question, with all respect to those who have espoused it, seems, in comparison with the past, only a palpable contrast and contradiction to former professions and commitments—a dissent, amounting to a denial, of convictions once held unimpaired. One is led to inquire, Have principles once regarded sound and established become obsolete and void? For my own part, I have endeavored to look calmly and impartially upon this question and its pending conditions, and can see no reason for the abandonment of the ground heretofore confided in as holding eternal principles of right.

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The present review of the Chinese question will resolve itself into the form of statements, and by their logic leave issues to be determined. An attitude of the present will be compared with one of the past. It cannot have escaped observation, that in the stages of the present controversy, the old mistake of multiplying reasons has been committed by partizans warring against Chinese immigration. For example, the Chinese will not become permanent residents, and they are not desired to become such; they will not assimilate, and are not wanted to assimilate; they are an inferior race, and they supersede the Caucasians in labor; they will not be naturalized, and are prevented from becoming naturalized.

The opponents of Chinese immigration call for a radical change—a modification of measures may be admitted, if needed, for restraint—the undoing of all the past in international negotiations and their results.

In the past, the Chinese were invited and encouraged to come to our shores: now they are opposed in their coming, and are unwelcome intruders.

In the past, the Chinese were asked to come as laborers: now their competition in labor is an evil, and only an evil.

Thus the issue is joined as to numbers and labor; or, in another form, labor as the chief, and numbers the subordinate question.

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In 1876, the Joint Committee of the two Houses of Congress met in San Francisco to investigate the Chinese question. The committee was composed of Senator Morton, chairman, and Messrs. Sargent, Piper, Meade, Cooper, and Willson. One hundred and thirty witnesses were examined, and their testimony is contained in a report, covering over twelve hundred printed pages. The committee make, in the view of the whole, as their own conclusion, the following remarks:

Although the subject by this means was pretty fully covered, and the inquiry, perhaps, exhausted, the conclusions to be drawn from the mass of testimony may be different to different minds. In the opinion of the committee, it may be said that the resources of California and the Pacific Coast have been more rapidly developed with the cheap and docile labor of Chinese than they would have been without this element. So far as material prosperity is concerned, it cannot be doubted that the Pacific Coast has been a great gainer.

From the sworn testimony before the Joint Congressional Committee, some views of prominent and influential citizens regarding the labor question are selected. Alfred Wheeler, land-owner and farmer, stated as his belief, "that the immigration of the Chinese has been vastly beneficial to the growth of California, and is greatly beneficial to every white man, woman, and child in the State; that the white laborers are vastly benefited by that immigration instead of hurt by 223 it; and that Chinese labor has greatly increased the demand for white labor, opened avenues to white labor which never would have existed but for it, and can be illustrated in a dozen matters." William F. Babcock testified, "in a new country cheap labor is absolutely necessary. The effect has been beneficial, and will continue to be beneficial; instead of driving out labor by cheap labor, it increases it. Labor begets labor. The strong feeling or prejudice against Chinamen here, arises from

politicians, office-holders, and foreigners as a general thing. Very many of our politicians pander to this low taste, you may call it, and join in the outcry, in order to get the foreign vote and popularity among them. There is no real conflict between Chinese labor and white labor in this State. As to cleanliness, if you go down to Battery street, at four o'clock in the morning, you will see two or three hundred Chinamen waiting to go into the factories; and if you will look at their hands and feet and necks, you will see them as clean and neat-looking people as you ever saw in the world. They are different from the lower white classes." Donald McLellan, of the Mission Woollen Mills, said: "We pay our white men from one dollar and seventy-five cents to six dollars a day, and we pay the Chinamen ninety cents a day. The Chinese are large consumers of the goods we manufacture, blankets 224 and underclothing. Cotton can be raised here very well, but is not, because the price of labor is too high." Dr. Arthur B. Stout stated that "the frugal life of Chinamen gives them more immunity from disease. The death-rate is greater among the whites than among the Chinese." W. W. Hollister testified: "As to the proprietors, I think there is a common sentiment and feeling in favor of the Chinamen. They are our last resort. They fill the places which other laborers will not willingly fill. They perform the menial labors of our households, and in general do so much of our commonest toil, that they pave the way for the higher labors of the better races. Without them we would, if not actually come to a standstill, suffer extreme embarrassment in all departments. With the labor of these Chinamen, numbering from fifteen to thirty in different branches of my business, I am able to give work to twenty to fifty laborers of other nationalities. They do not often fill the positions sought after by others." S. H. Dwinelle said: "The prejudice against Chinese immigration is strong among the laboring classes. Outside of them, I do not think it is very strong. I find that farmers in the interior are always ready to employ Chinese, and in many instances they tell me that they prefer them to white labor. I have heard some of them say they could not move their crops without the assistance 225 of the Chinese. I do not know that there is any more perjury among the Chinese than among some others." Charles Crocker said: "I think the presence of Chinamen here affords to white men a more elevated class of labor. I think if the white laborer understood and realized his true interest, he would be in favor of the present proportion of Chinese labor in this State. I believe the law of supply and demand will regulate itself if they are left alone. I believe eight-tenths of the people would vote for the amount of Chinese labor there is here now, if the

question was argued calmly and deliberately before the people.” F. W. Macondray and R. G. Sneath testified that, in very large mercantile transactions with Chinese merchants, they “never lost a dollar by them.” B. S. Brooks testified: “The proportion of foreign-born voters in San Francisco is about 55 per cent. It is mainly in that element that this violent opposition exists, but not all of that class are in this opposition. A good many of them are quite content to take their chance with the Chinese or any other immigrant who comes here. In the country, those who are opposed to Chinese immigration are a very small minority. In this city, the Chinese are insulted, assaulted, beaten, and killed. In the interior, probably, they have suffered more than even here.” Frederick F. Low said: “Chinese labor here is free; in my opinion, 226 there is no surplus of labor; Chinese labor is not any cheaper in comparison than white labor in the eastern States. The Chinese do not come here as peons, under contract.”

On the other hand, in strong terms, it is, on medical authority, declared that disease, in most loathsome forms, prevails among and is propagated by the Chinese. Portions of the Chinese quarters in San Francisco are referred to for proof of their offensive mode of life, their overcrowded spaces, uncleanly habits and conditions, and a generally disgusting state. On the labor question, opponents charge that the Chinese interfere with and prevent white labor; that by their cheap living and economical habits, they reduce the price of labor, degrade labor in general, and as a class, should not be allowed to compete with the labor of those whose mode of life is more expensive. The large number of Chinese already in the country, and the probability that many more will come, are looked upon with alarming apprehension. In every aspect of the case, the presence of the Chinese is regarded by their opponents as undesirable, and demanding prevention. Such, in substance, are the views on this subject held and expressed by many at the present time.

What the policy of our people should have been towards the Chinese among us, is suggested 227 by one who has had a long residence in China, and made frequent visits to California. S. Wells Williams says:

No measures were taken by the rulers of California or San Francisco to compel the immigrants to live with some regard to their own health and the public comfort; but when they became

“nuisances” to others from their overcrowding, then the whole blame was put upon them, whereas the chief fault lay with the municipality for not teaching them how to live properly. Further, a wise policy would have led the city and State authorities to educate suitable men in the Chinese language, who could have acted as their interpreters and translators, and thus maintained an intelligent intercourse with these people. This reasonable course would have shown them that their condition was understood, a way prepared for them to improve, and proper persons appointed to help them in all suitable ways. Nothing of the kind has ever been done, though measures are taken in several other States to aid Germans, Norwegians, etc., in understanding our laws in their own tongue, so that no mistakes may be made. Yet no class needed it so much as the Chinese, and none would have been more likely to accept the laws when they understood them.

Great changes have occurred in the past thirty years, not alone on our Western shore, but as well in the Orient. Japan has taken position in the family of nations, with grand auguries of future advancement. Exclusiveness has run its career in China. That vast country has thrown open its door to the commerce of the world. Western science has been enthroned in Peking. Its government has acknowledged the value of Western literature and art, by sending forth her sons to draw light from other suns in America and Europe. California has proved an efficient helper of so great changes. Her opportunity for subserving the ends of a providential mission, in this regard, was never greater than now. A retrograde movement is not to be so much as entertained in momentary consideration. Our policy and our duty alike are to adhere to our early determination; and under the inspiration of our resolve, “that we regard with pleasure the presence of a great number of this people among us, as the affording the best opportunity of doing them good, and through them of exerting our influence upon their native country,” discharge our whole duty to the once strange people, but now so no longer, whom a sovereign Providence has sent to us.

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CHAPTER XVII.

Benevolence—Sanitary Commission and Incidents—Systematic Charities—Common Schools—Colleges—Libraries—Literature and Music—Distance and Time—Religious Societies—Presbyterian Churches—Concluding Remarks.

The generosity of the people of San Francisco and California requires no eulogy. Its marked example in this regard has received due appreciation. Particularly was this the case with reference to the part taken in the interests of the noble Sanitary and Christian Commissions during a pressing emergency. The occasion of the first meeting, held September 14, 1862, for the purpose of organizing a branch of the Sanitary Commission, is memorable. It was on a Sunday evening, in Platt's Hall. The spacious building was crowded. It fell to my lot to open the meeting with prayer to Almighty God, the God of our fathers, for his favor and blessing upon the undertaking. Most eloquent and stirring patriotic speeches were made by Eugene Casserly and Frederick Billings, Esqs. The enthusiasm of the grand assemblage was wrought up to the highest pitch. J. McM. Shafter and Edward Tompkins, Esqs., followed with short, pointed speeches. The eloquent Rev. T. Starr King was 230 upon the programme to make the closing address. What can he say after the speeches already delivered? was whispered through the house. The truth is, he did not attempt to make a speech, and yet what he said gave a culminating effect to all preceding efforts. He remarked, it was not intended to ask for subscriptions at that time, but a committee would call upon those present at an early date, and receive their donations. Then, turning towards the chairman, Mayor H. F. Teschemacher, he added: The President will give one thousand dollars; the Pacific Mail Steamship Company will give one thousand dollars; the California Steam Navigation Company will give one thousand dollars; Ophir Mining Company will give one thousand dollars; and every Vice-President on the platform—there are about seventy—will give five hundred dollars each. Either the sagacity of Mr. King foresaw, or his prompting dictated the result; for the outcome of applications, a surprise to many, proved him, in nearly every instance, a true prophet. This was the beginning of the lavish contributions hence bestowed upon that worthy cause. The truth is, our beginning was marked by the spirit of affluent generosity. The history of the past is illuminated with tracks and glowing lights of beneficence. Monuments of overflowing charity are seen on every hand in San Francisco, in the Protestant 231 and Roman Catholic Orphan Asylums, the Home of the Ladies'

Protection and Relief Society, and St. Luke's, the German, and French Hospitals, and the Hebrew Orphan Asylum and Home. The enumeration, both of classes and distinctive names, may be vastly extended. Benevolence has been systematized, and made to play a part in all the wide range of society. No organization is complete without it. Possibilities of suffering and want are accepted as certain, and provision anticipates the fact of need.

The San Francisco Benevolent Society has the organization of a broad public charity. It is sustained by private subscriptions, and appropriations from public funds. It dispenses its gifts to families and individuals, without regard to nationality or religious belief. Distinctive social organizations of great variety exist. Each church especially, has one or more schemes of charity, as an essential part of its plans and objects. On every hand, one sees Orders and Fellowships, Unions and Leagues, and all of them are more or less beneficial in their spirit and scope. Not that San Francisco is more benevolent than other cities, but the increase and growth of its charities in so brief a period, are, to say the least, not behind any in rate of progress. They have grown up with the churches and social organizations, in trades and professions, for the sick and 232 unfortunate, along all avenues, for landsmen and sailors, in military and civil spheres; and finally, in our truly cosmopolitan community, as every nationality has its distinct organization or club, so has it also a plan of mutual assistance. With most commendable liberality, these organizations are supported by private contributions, and, when necessary, by public funds. It is safe to say, no one need be left to want in San Francisco, nor will be if his necessities are made known. The benevolence of the people is proverbial.

For no other object, it has been truly said, has the State of California been more solicitous than popular education. In no other cause has the State made a more free and abundant provision. By means of its liberal endowments, every child and youth enjoys the privilege of obtaining an education. From the common school and the rudiments of learning, he may rise to the heights of a University course. For such a boon, intelligent, far-seeing citizens began to provide in the Constitutional Convention of 1849. In the framing of the State Constitution, the 500,000 acres of land usually given by the general government to new States were appropriated for the support of schools. This foundation, added to the aggregate of school sections of lands throughout the State,

formed the basis of financial support to a noble system of public schools. By direct 233 taxation, also, the State still further provides for the education of its youth. All endowments, combined, compose a generous support of universal education in the State.

In framing the system of schools for the State and for San Francisco, Mr. Thomas J. Nevins was prominent. His original draft of the plan was the foundation of the scheme upon which has arisen, according to his outline, the ascending series of higher education. Mr. Nevins was the first Superintendent of the schools of San Francisco, and while in office, was instrumental in securing valuable school sites for subsequent use. The liberality of San Francisco towards its schools of different grades has ever been manifested. At this date, the annual expenditure amounts to \$900,000.

Toland Medical College and Hastings Law School (Departments of the State University) were nobly founded and endowed by the citizens whose names they bear. The Lick bequest furnishes millions for the aid of charity, science, and the arts.

Other institutions of learning have commanding rank in the city. St. Mary's and St. Ignatius are liberally endowed Roman Catholic Colleges. The Presbyterian Church has its City and University Mound Colleges and Theological Seminary. Private Grammar Schools and Academies for boys 234 and girls are numerous. The largest public libraries are the Mercantile, Mechanics' Institute, and Odd-Fellows, each having about 35,000 volumes. The Law Library has 18,000 volumes. The People's Free Library has been recently opened, under the auspices of the city government. Means of literary and musical culture abound. Societies for these purposes exist independently, or more numerous in connection with churches and other associations. The reputation of San Francisco for eminence in musical taste and execution, seems not nor likely to be abated.

One loses the impression almost, that he is in a new field of human enterprise, surrounded by so many marks of advancement. In this goodly city of San Francisco, instead of the three thousand five hundred of population thirty years since quartered here, one is now in the midst of three hundred and fifty thousand, with the whole aspect of things changed. Thirty years ago, a month for

a voyage or correspondence from New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and New Orleans, was a much abbreviated time. Then an improvement came through the Butterfield and Salt Lake Stage Lines, and still another and most exciting advance, in limit of news to ten days' time, through the Pony Express and telegraph combined. With the continental telegraph, we were no longer 235 isolated, but in proximity to the great centres of the world. By the great achievement of the overland railway connections, the waters of the Pacific and Atlantic seem only by a short distance separated.

Great material progress has been accomplished, but that is not all. Advances have been made in more than travel by steamships, swift coaches, rushing railroads, and news by telegraph; and more than wonderful mechanic arts, and piles of stone and mortar, warehouses and wharves, gold, silver, and merchandise; proud palaces, or humbler yet comfortable abodes; more than anything secular. For over all this fair city, are quite one hundred sacred centres—churches and chapels for the worship and service of the living God: nearly one hundred sacred piles, sermons to passers-by, and fanes for devout worshippers within their hallowed walls.

The various religious societies of San Francisco, according to their denominations, are as follow:

Baptist—6 churches, 1 Mission chapel, and 1 Chinese Mission. Congregational—5 churches, and 1 Chinese Mission. Protestant Episcopal—9 churches, and 4 Missions, including 1 Seamen's Mission. German Protestant—5 churches. Hebrew Synagogues—6. Methodist Episcopal—12 churches, and 1 Chinese Mission. Presbyterian—13 churches, including 1 French church, and 1 236 Chinese Mission. Roman Catholic—13 churches, and 10 chapels in colleges, convents, etc. Mariners—1 church, undenominational. Swedenborgian, 2 churches. Unitarian—1 church. Universalist—1 church. Second Advent, Christian—1 church. Seventh-Day Advent—1 church. Disciples of Christ—1 church. Independent German Congregation—1 church. Christian Brethren—1 church. Russian—1 church. Friends' Meeting—1 church.

All the existing Temperance Societies and Orders are represented in San Francisco. A late addition to the number has been made of a Gospel Temperance organization. Various philanthropic associations here have their seat.

More in detail, notices of the continuous history of the progress and condition of our Presbyterian Churches are annexed. And first of all, with devout thankfulness, I desire to acknowledge the special Divine goodness by which the lives of the three original members of the Presbytery of California have been preserved to the present time, attended with much lovingkindness and tender mercy. My beloved associates in many an essay of Christian work, the Rev. Dr. Sylvester Woodbridge and the Rev. James Woods, are still active in the gospel ministry, and the writer is trying to do all the good he can.

The degree of our Church growth is tested in 237 a single view and statement. Eleven years ago, the number of Presbyterian Churches existing throughout all the Pacific Slope, from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, was sixty-two. At the present time, the number is increased to two hundred and twenty. This consummation is incidentally, and more or less directly connected with and due to the possession and developments of California and the relations of industry and enterprise which have been formed in and from our metropolis as a centre. Thus the interspaces have become dotted, first with camps, and then with more permanent settlements; and where the world has gone, the church has followed. Confidence in the living truth, through the efficient grace of the divine Savior, has never been disappointed. The productive power of the word of God lives and abides for ever.

The First Presbyterian Church of San Francisco has ever held its place and influence for good. Changes have passed over its constituent members. Of the Ruling Elders in office, at the close of my pastorate, two, W. W. Caldwell and R. H. Waller, have departed this life. One, T. C. Hambly, is a resident of Philadelphia. Two, N. Gray and Thos. Hopkins, with others, are still members of the Session. The three Deacons of that date are all living, and are acting Ruling Elders in different Presbyterian Churches in San Francisco: J. B. 238 Roberts in Calvary, E. R. Hawley in Howard, and G. I. N. Monell in Central Church. So, from time to time, have the members of the First Church gone out from its communion to form or strengthen other churches. Not only the churches of San Francisco have drawn supplies, but others also, the churches of Oakland largely, from its vital

forces. And still this oldest, mother church has continued and prospered and performed noble works of well-doing. It is still true to its characteristic steadfastness.

Calvary Church, which has ever been a strong organization, relatively leads all other churches of our faith in San Francisco.

In Sept., 1850, Howard Presbyterian Church was founded by the Rev. S. H. Willey, in connection with the New School branch of the Presbyterian Church. This church has a history of zealous and important work, in its own field, and in the planting and largely supporting of Mission Churches. It established Larkin Street, Westminster, and Olivet Churches of this city, and aided other Mission enterprises in the interior. Now, by a happy reunion of the divided Church, the churches of both branches are blended in one general organization.

The complement of city Presbyterian churches, doing good service, are Larkin Street, Westminster, Central, Olivet, Memorial, and St. John's and 239 Woodbridge, (both recently formed and vigorous,) with the Welsh, French, and Chinese. Oakland, Alameda, and Berkeley, four churches and one Chinese church, with San Francisco make a common cause.

A lay-Presbyterian Union, and the Occidental Branch of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society, and other kindred agencies, belong to the schemes of the Presbyterian churches of San Francisco. For their career of usefulness and measure of success, to Him who has led and blessed them be all the glory!

On this new field of secular and Christian enterprise, a few brief years ago, ourselves strangers in a strange land, we cast our lot. Here our homes and altars were reared. We were the representatives of the nation, but the flag of the American Union was over us, and the God of our fathers was with us. It was well for the young State that among the many adventurers attracted to its shore, there were not a few who were strictly religious—whose religion was one of principle, and its seat in the heart, mind, and conscience; not dependent upon place and associations, but always in force, “like an angel, vital everywhere.” And there were others, who, although not personally so much under the habitual control of the principles and habits of religion, were still more or less

imbued with its instincts 240 and sentiments. And, as a whole, it was a leading wish that society should take upon itself the best forms of order and propriety. It is not sufficient to say that such a procedure was not opposed, it was acquiesced in; still more, it was desired. The public welfare was not sought at the sacrifice of the public honor. A State Constitution, without a recognition of the supremacy and all-directing providence of God, was an impossibility. Then as now, and now, perhaps, because it was so then, the first utterance of the Constitution declares: "We, the people of California, grateful to Almighty God for our freedom, in order to secure its blessings, do establish this Constitution." There inheres still in the body politic, more than an equipoise of moral goodness. The moral leverage of California was then, and still is adequate to uphold and further any desirable and proper movement for the maintenance of right, virtue, and truth.